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ABSTRACT

Nine conference papers examine educational administration in Canada and England. Three papers present the results of survey research on rural principals' reactions to decentralized budgeting in Saskatchewan (Canada), the impact of local government reforms on local educational services in England, and the effects of principals' leadership styles on teachers' job satisfaction, satisfaction with supervision, and participation in decision-making. Another paper proposes research using videotapes to discover whether classroom supervision focuses on the teacher, the student, or both. One author discusses the questions of what schools do and how and why they do it, as an aid to administrators seeking to identify the larger goals of educational administration. Two papers tell of events in Canada, the first recounting a school closing in Manitoba and the second describing a school-community project in northern Alberta. Problems of research methodology are examined in a paper describing participant-observation research in a secondary school in England, and another author proposes a theoretical model of collective bargaining. (RW)

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Atlantic Institute of Education
Institut d'Education de l'Atlantique

Papers Presented During CASEA Sessions
at the 1981 Annual Conference of the
Canadian Society for the
Study of Education

Canadian Association for the
Study of Educational Administration

June 1-4, 1981
Dalhousie University
Halifax, N.S.

INTRODUCTION

This booklet contains papers that will be presented during the Canadian Association for the Studies of Educational Administration (CASEA) sessions at the 1981 Annual Conference of the Canadian Society for the Studies of Education (CSSE). The 1981 CSSE Conference will be held at Dalhousie University in Halifax, Nova Scotia, from June 1-4, 1981.

Unfortunately, not all of the papers to be presented are included because some authors did not have their papers completed by the publication date of this booklet. However, the majority of the papers are included for the 1981 Conference and it is our hope that future editions of CASEA Annual Conference reports will include all papers presented.

This booklet is subsidized by CASEA and, therefore, can be sold at the 1981 Conference for a price below the actual production costs.

Best wishes for a productive and interesting conference.

From the 1981 Program Committee

Barry Lucas
Brian Sharples (Chairman)
Keith Sullivan

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ED218747

THE CLOSING OF HOWDEN SCHOOL

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EA 014 775

THE CLOSING OF HOWDEN SCHOOL

This case-study is a participant observer account of a lengthy, intense, complex, and potentially destructive episode in the life of a school district. Since it is written by one of the major participants, the Superintendent, it is unavoidably subjective. However, written at some distance in time and space, the account is, it is hoped, objective enough to be useful and instructive to school districts, and particularly, senior administrators facing similarly loaded issues. Some attempt is made to generalize from the experience, and to maximize this utility.

Since the entire episode was conducted in public meetings, and subsequently extensively reviewed in court, virtually all the data is real-life. However, names of individuals are rarely used; rather offices, titles, or position descriptions are given. All other information of every kind is real, and some major documents are reprinted in whole or in part.

A number of themes are interwoven in the account of events. Some insights can be gained into at least the following matters: the representative role of trustees; the political role of senior administrators; policy decision-making under conditions of conflict; public involvement in decision-making; the impact of declining enrolments; and the working relationship between trustees and administrators under conditions of stress.

The School District Context

St. Boniface is a medium to small suburban district of 8,000 students, located on the east bank of the Red River, immediately adjacent to the original city of Winnipeg. The district divides, by natural boundaries, into three regions, North (or old) St. Boniface, a mid-age subdivision, Windsor Park, and a new subdivision, Southdale.

The most significant recent event in the history of St. Boniface School Division was the creation in 1971 of a sub-system in which French was the language of instruction. This divided the pupil population of the district, at a time when enrolments had peaked, but decline was not anticipated. This initiative was the first district-level response in the province to legislation permitting French to be used as a language of instruction. The French schools were immediately and spectacularly successful. They were, for the most part completely French and intended for children from French homes , with instruction in English only for the English language, commencing in Grade 2. However, the national concern with bilingualism and biculturalism, and the mobility of some middle-class residents who were aware of the beginnings of immersion programs in French for English-speaking children in Eastern Canada, made these schools attractive to some English-speaking parents. One parent expressed interest thus: "It is the perfect immersion program -- my child in a class of 20 Francophones." It was also unique and short-lived.

Concurrently with the development of the French subsystem, the population centre of the district was moving south, away from "Vieille St. Boniface", as a large, new subdivision (Southdale) opened up, and three new elementary schools and a major addition to the southernmost [illegible]gh school were built. These construction projects coincided with the end of the school building boom in Winnipeg and probably across the West.

Nov 7/78
Received

Table 1

ST BONIFACE SCHOOL DIVISION NO. 4

STUDENT POPULATION - ACTUAL (1971-1979) AND PROJECTED (1979-1983)

Sub System	School	ACTUAL 1971 1972	1972 1973	1973 1974	1974 1975	1975 1976	1976 1977	1977 1978	1978 1979	CAP	PROJECTED 1979 1980	1980 1981	1981 1982	1982 1983
North and French #1	Marion	507	518	509	480	453	454	422	392	450	377	367	354	362
	Taché	178	263	218	-	-	219	207	212	198	207	195	199	197
	Provencher	682	613	523	692	572	307	362	355	572	347	342	335	324
	Lacerte	676	764	772	826	558	540	518	495	528	476	484	470	463
	Guyot	-	-	-	-	338	350	358	438	326	518	598	652	675
	Louis Riel	797	664	659	558	515	498	461	421	690	376	359	375	407
	Collège	310	330	395	501	472	497	571	592	621	627	617	588	584
	Total S.S.#1	3150	3152	3076	3055	2908	2865	2899	2905	3385	2928	2962	2973	3012
Windsor Park #2	Frontenac	865	814	737	666	602	549	473	424	625	404	391	369	367
	Prendergast	546	462	413	500	466	428	404	352	500	332	320	307	295
	General Vanier	689	618	568	608	551	497	478	447	569	417	385	367	342
	Howden	545	572	485	476	429	391	372	347	500	314	284	272	245
	Wm Russell	344	294	271	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Beliveau	930	974	950	940	938	838	729	674	782	662	635	597	576
	Pierre Radisson	629	578	493	502	459	483	445	465	506	477	510	502	490
	Windsor Park	964	831	927	869	877	902	886	854	851	782	707	626	548
	Total S.S.#2	5512	5143	4844	4561	4322	4088	3787	3563	4333	3388	3232	3040	2863
Southdale #3	Van Belleghem	613	536	642	492	469	504	453	403	569	389	365	345	334
	Niakwa Place	-	-	-	241	337	399	320	318	347	305	294	288	288
	Shamrock	-	-	-	170	264	397	462	494	894	528	561	590	609
	J.H. Bruns	-	395	561	420	416	397	432	427	644	475	528	557	585
	Total S.S. #3	613	931	1203	1323	1486	1697	1667	1642	2454	1697	1748	1780	1816
	TOTAL DIVISION	9275	9226	9123	8939	8716	8650	8353	8110	10,172	8013	7942	7793	7691

Roméo Verrier
Secretary-Treasurer and
Business Administrator

The seeds of the 1979 crisis were already in place by about 1974. Table 1 shows enrolments and their shifts over the period. Declining populations in schools in North St. Boniface and Windsor Park were being partially offset by growing enrolments in Southdale's new schools, but the trend was down.

Insert Table 1 about here

PHASE 1: The Impact of Declining Enrolments

In 1974 what was to be Phase 1 of a continuing crisis occurred. Two schools, one French (Taché) and one English (William Russell) were facing enrolment declines to below 200. Since Taché was a K-8 school, this was particularly serious. Although pupil-teacher ratios in elementary schools had fallen, the school based budget system in effect did not allow these schools to operate without both multigrade classes and special staffing support. Further, the wide range of support services typically available could not be economically provided to such small schools. On these grounds the Board decided to close both schools.

These were the first urban closures of small schools in Manitoba, and there was tremendous community reaction, including a one-day boycott of classes at William Russell (about 90% effective) and Federal intervention by the Secretary of State on behalf of Ecole Taché, because of its symbolic significance as the first purpose-built French language school since the Manitoba Schools Question of 1876.

However the Board held firm, and both schools were closed. William Russell students were absorbed into two neighboring schools, each about six blocks away, and William Russell was converted into a combined Board office and Teacher Centre. The principal and staff moved to a newly opened school about ten blocks South in the new subdivision. Taché students and staff were integrated into another French school about six blocks away. (Subsequently two new, French-speaking trustees were elected with a mandate to re-open Ecole Tache which they accomplished.)

Phase 1 established several things: the major arguments for and against school closures were rehearsed; the senior administrators became familiar with the resistance to be expected from a school community, including the possible political consequences in composition of the School Board; and the damaging potential of declining enrolments became very apparent, together with the need for careful planning of major decisions for the future. Most important, the significance of sociopolitical factors as against cost-benefit analyses in school district decision-making became obvious.

Two developments in programming preceded and effectively initiated Phase 2. First, the district had initiated immersion French classes at the Kindergarten level in three English language elementary schools. A substantial minority of children had been enrolled in these classes, commencing in 1972. Second, population pressures on the southernmost French school, Lacerte, had led to the construction and opening of a new French school in the new subdivision, Southdale. This new school, Guyot, opening in September 1975, offered precisely the same programs for Francophones as Ecole Lacerte , and received the older students from that school, thus alleviating population pressures.

During the 1977-1978 school year, the Parents Committee at Ecole Lacerte (which still included Guyot parents, since the two schools were seen as serving a single population) addressed themselves to a serious problem, the presence in a school intended for Francophones of a substantial minority of children whose native language was English and for whom the supposedly French school was serving as an immersion experience. In many classrooms 25% of the students were effectively English-speaking. The solution proposed by the parents was to regroup students into French and French Immersion streams, to use Lacerte for Francophones, and to use the new school, Guyot, for a French Immersion program, incorporating English-speaking students from Lacerte and from the Immersion classes at other elementary schools.

Despite some objections, in particular from the parents of Immersion students currently accomodated in local schools, the Lacerte parents proposal was accepted by the Board. In September 1977 Guyot became exclusively a French Immersion centre and Lacerte exclusively Francophone. At that time, Guyot had a K-5 population of 358, and a designed capacity by district standards of 326. Other schools in the district were operating at capacity, or in many cases, well below capacity.

By September 1978, Guyot had 438 students. The unanticipated popularity of the immersion program was causing two related difficulties: First, Guyot was overcrowded; second, English elementary schools were losing badly needed students, thus accentuating the consequences of declining enrolments. Because the school-based management system allocated resources to schools on the basis of enrolments, the success of the immersion program was seen as threatening by the principals of English elementary schools. This feeling certainly contributed to subsequent problems.

PHASE II: Decline with Growth

Phase II of the crisis effectively commenced with a letter (November 20, 1977) from the Chairman of the Guyot Parent Council to the Secretary-Treasurer of the School Division, suggesting that "the total enrolment for 1978-1979 could be 452 students, well over the 'working capacity' for the school. We feel construction plans must be commenced immediately to keep pace with anticipated enrolment. We would ask that you bring our request to the attention of the school board." The School Division's projections of enrolments confirmed the expectations of the parent group.

On May 4, 1978, the Assistant Superintendent (who was responsible for French and Immersion programs) reported on additional facilities for Guyot School, recommending the use of a portable classroom for September 1978, and suggesting three alternatives for September 1979:

> "Alternative I. That the Board request an additional ten classrooms at Guyot for September 1979.
>
> Alternative II. That the Board establish Howden School as an immersion school. This would necessitate the displacement of 320 (K-6) and 30 (Sp. Ed.) students to General Vanier, Prendergast and Frontenac schools. School capacity of Howden is 500.
>
> Alternative III. That the Board establish Prendergast School as an immersion school. This would require the displacement of 354 (K-6) students to General Vanier, Howden and Frontenac schools. School capacity of Prendergast is 500."

On May 16, 1978 the Board approved a "letter of intent" to the Capital Facilities Council of the Department of Education, proposed to add ten classrooms, an additional gymnasium, and a multipurpose room, to accomodate an anticipated 639 students by the 1981-1982 school years. This letter included a statement on immersion programs, written by the Assistant Superintendent, asserting a very important principle, which became critical in the debate which followed:

The St. Boniface School Board has considered the utilization of classrooms in other schools of the division to accommodate the rapid growth of the programme. Inasmuch as the levels of expectation in immersion vary substantially from that in the core French programme, the provision of an effective immersion programme presumes the centralizing of the youngsters and the related services. It is therefore, the antithesis of the community school concept. This is supported by a statement made by the Department of Education through its Minister in April 1977 declaring that "if enrollment in a programme is sufficient for the grouping of enough classes to justify the creation of a French school, the Department of Education would expect the school division to attempt to establish such a school." We must assume that this statement holds true in the context of an immersion school.

The St. Boniface School Board is convinced that the programme must remain in a regional school setting if it is to have a chance of success. The main criterion of success rests on the premise that the entire school be staffed by native-like French speaking teachers. Accordingly, through its classroom, music, library, physical education and cultural programmes the school is able to provide the necessary ambiance for its pupils. We have come to realize that the immersion school is more than the sum of its classrooms. The language of the halls, playgrounds, school clubs and related activities plays a vital role in achieving the objectives of the immersion programme.

> In the context of the current linguistic problems facing the country and in light of the current policies of the Department of Education, it is a matter of natural justice that English-speaking children wishing to become fully bilingual have full access to Immersion programmes. The addition to Guyot School assures us that the rights of the majority are respected through granting an equal opportunity of receiving instruction in the minority language.

This letter to the Department was supported by a letter from the Guyot Parent's Council (June 12, 1978) :

> Because of the success of French Immersion in our area, many parents are taking advantage of the opportunity for their children to learn and use a second language. We believe the most successful approach is an Immersion School such as Guyot, planned and staffed specifically for the teaching of the second language.

On July 6, the Board received a letter from the Public School's Finance Board refusing the request for additional space, because "there is vacant space available in other schools in the division that could be utilized through rearrangement of enrolments and grade levels . . . ." At this point it became obvious that the Board faced a serious political problem, involving the relocation of substantial numbers of students. A position paper from the Superintendent suggested that three assumptions needed to be examined before alternatives were generated:"(1) that program growth was inevitable; (2) that additional facilities were indeed not available; and (3) that a single immersion centre was, in fact, necessary."

This report also proposed some criteria for judgment:

> In determining the advantages and disadvantages of various alternatives, one needs bases for judgment. The following are given as possibilities, in order of importance:
>
> A. Provides a location and setting favorable to the success of the program.
> B. Makes good use of space available in the division.
> C. Minimizes disruptions for parents and students.
> D. Minimizes additional costs, including transportation costs.
> E. Is viable over both short and long term.

Ten different alternatives were rated against these criteria; only four were considered particularly promising. These were: new construction at Guyot School (i.e., an appeal against the Finance Board decision); leasing a school in an adjacent division; using all or part of an existing English elementary school; and using part of a French school.

At the parent's request, a meeting was held with the Guyot School Parents Council, in which the parents pressed strongly for program growth and immersion centres, as opposed to shared facilities with other programs. The Superintendent's report listing a number of alternatives was given to the Parents Council.

After this meeting, it became clear that, for several of the trustees, shared facilities were unacceptable; they had been convinced by the Guyot parents, and the views of the Assistant Superintendent, that separate immersion centres were the best way to offer an immersion program. At about the same time, it became obvious that the first two alternatives analyzed were not available. The possibilities were narrowing down to alternatives which involved the relocation of students in English programs.

PHASE III: Choosing an Alternative

At the end of November the Guyot Parents Council proposed the use of Beliveau, a large junior high school, located centrally in Windsor Park, as the single immersion centre. Guyot School would be closed. This alternative entailed a shift from an elementary/junior high/senior high pattern to a Gr. K-9, 9-12 pattern in Windsor Park. It had been dismissed in the Superintendent's report because a great many students would be displaced, and because facilities for special programs (band, science, art, and industrial arts) at this school could not be duplicated at neighborhood elementary schools, thus requiring the discontinuance of these programs.

The most important consequences of this proposal by the Guyot Parents Council, made in a public Board meeting, were to make it clear that the Board, by its delays in addressing the problem, had lost the initiative. Other parent groups, particularly at the junior high school in question, were quick to respond to this proposal, and the trustees were deluged with telephone calls and letters. Various parent groups were invited to respond to the Superintendent's report, and to the proposal from the Guyot Parents Council.

Parent groups at various schools, working with the school principals, put together briefs arguing that the status quo should be maintained at their school. Many suggested that the empty classrooms at various schools be utilized. But this approach, although economically very sensible, was absolutely unacceptable to the Guyot Parent Council, which had convinced some of the trustees of the importance of French immersion centres (in this they were strongly supported by the administration, and the recent history of the development of French schools in the district). At its regular meeting in March, held in the gymnasium of the school board office to accomodate the large number of parents in attendance, the Board received six briefs from school parent groups, including a slightly amended one from the Guyot group. Briefs were also received from the Manitoba chapter of Canadian Parents for French, and the staff of Guyot School, both reasserting the importance of the immersion centre concept.

At the April 3, 1979 Board meeting, trustees used the information and opinion from the briefs to list seven alternatives, and asked the administration to report on these. As a consequence of the public discussion of a number of alternatives by trustees at this well-attended meeting, the Board received a flood of letters from parents, including a petition letter signed by 306 parents of Guyot School. This letter resulted from a meeting at the school to which police had to be called to prevent the disruption of the meeting by parents from other schools (see Appendix B, letter B1). Essentially, the Guyot letters urged the Board to make a rapid decision. The other letters urged the Board to preserve the status quo at the schools listed as alternative sites for the immersion expansion.

At the next meeting, held on April 17 in a large secondary school gymnasium to accomodate the several hundred parents in attendance, the Board addressed the report on seven alternatives requested at the April 3 meeting. The report is given in total as Appendix A. It recommended the adoption, in principle, of the use of a Windsor Park elementary school, with the identification of a specific school to follow, depending on the method of implementation, a choice between sharing facilities, phasing in immersion students, and a one-time shift of students. The minutes reveal what occurred.

EXPANSION OF IMMERSION PROGRAM

MOVED Trustee Barker (S) Trustee Patterson that (1) Provencher in North St. Boniface, (2) original building at Shamrock School in Southdale, and (3) Howden Elementary school in Windsor Park, be established as the three alternatives best suited for the expanding Immersion Program.

First Amendment

MOVED Trustee Garwood (S) Trustee Patterson that Provencher and Shamrock be eliminated as possible alternatives.

Carried

Second Amendment

MOVED Trustee Patterson (s) Trustee Barker that Howden School alternative be accepted, in principle, by the Board, contingent on further consultation with the Howden and Guyot parents; and

That the administration be asked to advise the Principal and staff immediately assuring the Principal of an administrative position within the Division and placement of staff members who would have been retained at Howden next year.

Carried

Against: Trustee Garwood

MAIN MOTION AS AMENDED

That Howden Elementary School in Windsor Park be established , in principle, as the alternative best suited for the expanding Immersion Program contingent on further consultation with the Howden and Guyot parents; and

That the administration be asked to advise the Principal and staff immediately assuring the Principal of an administrative position within the Division and placement of staff members who would have been retained at Howden next year.

Carried

Against: Trustee Garwood

> Trustee Martel stated in a letter which was read to the Board by the Chairperson, that after discussions with the administration and with the parents and after taking into consideration the costs, displacement of students, busing and divisional goals, he was of the opinion that Howden school be chosen, in principle, as a second Immersion school and that the Board meet with the parents and staff before a final decision is voted upon.
>
> Adjournment
>
> The meeting adjourned at 9:15 p.m.

The procedure here, in which the amendments seem contrary to the intent of the main motion, was certainly inappropriate. The Chairperson was advised by the Secretary-Treasurer in his capacity as Parliamentarian, not to accept the amendments, but the trustees were adamant in wishing to proceed. Thus the decision arrived at was controversial both in substance and in form.

PHASE IV: Implementing the Alternative

As a result of the alternative chosen at the meeting of April 17, the Board received a number of letters from Howden parents. One is provided as an illustration (Appendix B, letter B2). The Administration was instructed to prepare a report on how the "Howden alternative" might best be implemented.

The next meeting of the Board on May 1, 1979, was held at the Board offices, again with a large attendance. Howden parents organized a march of students and parents from the school to the Board offices, and a noisy demonstration at the Board offices in advance of the meeting. Many students carried picket signs, including some threatening violence. (For example, one carried a picture of a baseball bat, and a legend "THIS IS NEXT!") A delegation of Howden parents presented a lengthy brief, a petition, and a number of supporting letters.

The brief made three main points: that the Special Education children would be disturbed by a move, that Howden School was the best school in the division, and that the Immersion Program should not be expanded because it was 'experimental' and not demonstrably successful.

In addition, the Board received a report from the administration, dated April 24, which provided detailed plans for redistributing the students and staff of Howden School. Special Education classes would move to a school approximately 1½ miles away, with bus transportation continuing to be provided. Other students would move to Frontenac School, about six blocks away, with the Howden teachers, Principal, and support staff. The move of the Principal was made possible by two other moves of elementary school principals, made necessary by the termination of an administrative appointment.

A meeting was planned with the Howden Parents Committee to discuss their brief, and held on May 8. An administration response to the brief made the following points:

1. Special Educations' placements are normally short term placements being adjusted to meet the changing needs of the individual students; half the Special Education children at Howden School had only been there one year, and several of these would normally be moved the next year anyway.
2. Howden School was quite successful, but not outstandingly so. As part of the routine assessment program in the district, a parent opinion survey of schools provided to trustees earlier showed that Howden was perceived positively, but only at the Division average for elementary schools. Similarly in test scores: Howden students were four months ahead of national norms; the Division average for elementary schools was +3 months.

3. The Immersion program at Guyot, by any measure available, was outstandingly successful. It was attracting more than one in four of all new Kindergarten registrations in the Windsor Park and Southdale areas, despite the fact that virtually all these students had to be bussed. Test scores showed that in tests conducted in English, Guyot students scored well ahead of Divisional and national norms; in tests conducted in French, they approached the competence of Francophone students in French schools. In terms of parental opinion of the schools, Guyot was clearly the best elementary school in the school district.

However, this meeting was not productive. The Howden parents were unimpressed with this response to their brief, and informed the Board that they planned to ask the Minister to use his special powers to hold an enquiry, and also, or alternatively, that they planned court action, including an injunction to prevent the Board from taking any action until after a court hearing. Because of this course of action, communication other than via lawyers terminated with this meeting.

At its next meeting, on May 15, the Board confirmed its decision of April 17, to use Howden School for the expansion of the immersion program, and accepted the implementation process outlined in the administration's report of April 24. This effectively closed the decision-making stage.

The Aftermath

The subsequent events were less dramatic. Howden School opened in September, 1979, as an Immersion school, and an extension of Guyot. Despite the threats which had been made, by telephone and in person, in the spring, no attempts to block access to the school by the Immersion children was made.

The Immersion program continued its rapid growth. The ex-Howden students and staff were integrated into Frontenac School without difficulty.

In December, the Howden parents had their day in court. They alleged that "the decision of the School Board was in excess of its jurisdiction and in breach of its duty to act fairly towards the plaintiffs." They sought a court order to the Minister, under his powers in the Public Schools Act, to restrain the Board (see Morse, J., Manitoba Court of Queen's Bench, December 31, 1979).

However, Mr. Justice Morse, reviewing the Act and legal precedents, found that "the authorities support the right of school trustees to determine what use is to be made of schools in their school division or district and what school a pupil must attend" (p. 14). Further, examining the allegation that the Board had acted unfairly, he found that the Howden parents "had ample opportunity to be heard" (p. 22). Again, he found that the procedure followed in the meeting of April 17, in which an improper amendment was accepted, was a procedural error, but not significant because "the motion of April 17 to choose Howden School was a motion in principle only, and the final decision was not taken until May 15" (p. 22).

On the complaint that the Howden parents' views were heard but not listened to, the judge made the following interesting comments, speaking to the whole issue of decision-making:

> It is clear that the trustees had a very difficult decision to make, one where they were certain to be damned if they did and damned if they did not. They did the best they could after hearing representations from all sides and after considering all of the various alternatives which were open to them. I cannot find that they proceeded with closed minds. I think they acted in good faith (p. 23).

Further, on the issue of whether the Board's decision was reasonable, he maintained:

> It is not for the Court to decide whether the school trustees reached the right decision. If they acted fairly, in good faith, and within their jurisdiction, the Court cannot intervene. As I have indicated, in this case the trustees had a very difficult decision to make. I am satisfied that they considered the various alternatives open to them in the light of all the criteria which were referred to in evidence, and, merely because the plaintiffs would have liked the school trustees to give an equal or higher priority to one criterion as opposed to another, this does not render their decision subject to judicial review. (p. 26)

To the allegation that the Board acted hastily, under pressure from the Guyot parents, he responded:

> . . . it is a normal part of the democratic process to bring pressure to bear on elected representatives to persuade them to adopt a particular policy or point of view. There is nothing sinister or wrong about this, provided no illegal or improper means are used. Certainly the Howden parents themselves attempted, at the school board meeting of May 1, to bring pressure to bear on the school trustees to change their decision in principle which had been taken on April 17. It seems to me to lie ill in the plaintiffs' mouths to criticize the Guyot parents for doing what the plaintiffs themselves did. (p. 27)

Thus the judgment asserted the right of parents to attempt to influence Boards, the Board's right to accept or reject such arguments, the consideration of alternatives, the use of explicit criteria for judgment, and finally the authority of the Board to make such decisions. His final comment on the Howden parents case was "their remedy, if they have one, lies not in the legal process but in the democratic political arena and through the ballot box" (p. 29). That judgment has yet to be rendered.

Significance of the Case

The case illustrates, at least in part, some propositions concerning school board decision-making, and the relationship between trustees and administrators. Conversely, the following propositions may help to reveal the significance of the events described.

1. In school district decisions, the superintendent is clearly the dominant actor (Zeigler, Tucker, & Wilson, 1977, p. 254).
2. Such studies as that of Zeigler & Jennings (1974) "exaggerate the power and dominance of the administrative staff . . .. School administrators -- and their school boards as well -- are inclined to anticipate community desires as they formulate educational policy" (Boyd, 1975; see also, Lyke, 1970; Greenhill, 1977, p. 92)
3. "When strategic decisions in the life of a school district are faced, not only school board but also community power is likely to be mobilized . . .. On the other hand, in more routine decisions . . . school boards, and communities, are much more likely to defer to the expertise of their administrative staff" (Boyd, 1975, p. 121).
4. Senior administrators function as "gatekeepers", limiting and hence biasing the information available to trustees and thus controlling decision-making (Boyd, 1975, p. 117; Greenhill, 1977, p. 94).

5. Studies of the interest group model of school board responsiveness to their community frequently conclude that boards are not responsive. However, "it is in the nature of interest group behavior and school system politics that when one group becomes exercised enough to speak out, the issue is probably one which will evoke other positions by other groups. So in that sense a board can virtually never be responsive; if there are conflicting preferences, no policy will satisfy all" (Jennings, 1975, p. 245).
6. Political and rational models of policy-making can be combined into a model which considers rational assessments and social values, and in which alternatives are generated by insiders and outsiders. In such a model, "administrators would have to ensure, not only that all value and belief systems find access to the policy process, but also that appropriate information finds its way to those who choose and those who influence" (Downey, 1977, pp. 141, 142).
7. Given the salience of interest group activity in education at present, the most accurate description of school board functions is the meta-mediator: "A meta-mediator is a decision-making system that processes all competing demands, organizes, reorganizes, modifies, generalizes, illuminates and emphasizes and in general reshapes these demands into an operational decision involving, usually, the distribution of limited resources" (Lutz, 1975, p. 1; see also Coleman, 1977).

The following brief notes link the case to the propositions.

PROPOSITION 1: Administrative Dominance in School Board Decision-Making

Although the parents frequently made reference to this, and there were attempts by various parent groups to ascertain the sympathies of senior administrators, in essence they largely performed an information role and the trustees clearly made the final decision. However, it is also true that the Board and senior administrators together formed the decision-making unit. Under the pressure of the parent groups, the tendency was for the administrators and the trustees to act in mutually supportive ways.

PROPOSITION 2: School District Decision-Makers and Community Preferences.

The decision-makers had clearly anticipated community preferences in establishing the first immersion centre, Guyot School, but had not anticipated its popularity and rapid growth. The strength of the preferences was not assessed prior to the events recorded here.

PROPOSITION 3: Strategic Decisions and Community Power.

The Boyd critique of Zeigler & Jennings' overemphasis on administrator control, based on a review of decisions of which most were routine, is thoroughly substantiated. In major decisions with community impact, administrative participation is very likely to be restricted to the informing and implementing elements in the classic policy-making model.

PROPOSITION 4: Administrator as (Informational) Gatekeeper.

In the case of strategic decisions, this is an unlikely role. Many people seek to influence, and there are many sources of information. Further, the information given by the administrators is likely to be very carefully scrutinized for evidence of error, inconsistency, or partiality. In such circumstances any attempts at "gatekeeping" would be publicly and severely criticized.

PROPOSITION 5: School Board Responsiveness to Community Preferences.

The Board here was in fact responsive to the community's preferences, although in the process it alienated one subgroup. Given the limitations in buildings available, established early on, and the model of immersion centre preferred by parents, staff, and administrators, it could not please all groups; that is, as Jennings argues, implicit in the interest group model.

PROPOSITION 6: Improving Policy-Makers and Policy Influences

The administrators here, and more particularly the Board, did attempt to provide information on values, as well as technical considerations such as enrolments and space, to all the parties concerned; in large measure the delay in arriving at a decision was intended to provide an opportunity for parent groups to share information and formulate positions. Virtually all the information available, including all administrative reports, was widely circulated.

PROPOSITION 7: School Board as Meta-Mediator

The incident illustrates the Lutz meta-mediator model rather precisely. Obviously the participants were not self-consciously enacting the roles described by Lutz, but the formulation of alternatives using community preferences as expressed in briefs, and the explicit weighing of the cases and the political resources of competing groups are the essential activities of the model. The "limited resources" in this case was, of course, the number of schools available.

* * * * *

In addition to serving as an illustration of the seven propositions cited above, the case also illustrates the impact of social change on the educational system of a community (see Boyd, 1978): local changes -- declining school enrolments in an aging suburb; and national changes --

the impact of Federal bilingualism policies in creating an interest in immersion programs -- clearly generated the issue faced by the school board here.

Perhaps the clearest significance for future research on school board decision-making, and particularly politician/administrator interactions in decision contexts, is to make it clear that routine decision-making and decision-making under conditions of conflict are quite different processes. Given the current level of interest in policy analysis, this is important.

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April [illegible]

APPENDIX A

THE EXPANSION OF IMMERSION FACILITIES IN ST. BONIFACE SCHOOL DIVISION

Supplementary to Position Paper of November 24, 1978

Peter Coleman, Superintendent

(Note: This incorporates material from Mr. Verrier's paper of March 30th, 1979.)

The previous paper proposed 5 bases for judgment, or criteria, for assessing the merits of the various alternatives. These were, in order of importance:

A. Provides a location and setting favourable to the success of the program.

B. Makes good use of space available in the division.

C. Minimizes disruptions for parents and students.

D. Minimizes additional costs, including transportation costs.

E. Is viable over both short and long term.

The purpose of this paper is to apply these criteria to the seven alternatives identified by the Board as worth pursuing (Board meeting, April 3).

ALTERNATIVE 1: USE SURPLUS SPACE AT PROVENCHER SCHOOL TO ACCOMMODATE IMMERSION PROGRAM, GRADES 5-8.

Criterion A Because the school is French, it provides a favourable setting for the program, in terms of ambiance, services of specialists, administration and library, and program similarities.

Because the school is remote from Guyot, the two programs are likely to become different.

Criterion B This alternative makes excellent use of space available. Provencher will require 14 classrooms for the B program in the fall, leaving 12 available for use by the Immersion program. However, it does use North St. Boniface space for Windsor Park students, when there are many empty classrooms in Windsor Park.

Criterion C This alternative minimizes disruption for students. The only students to move, or be directly affected, would be the 127 from Guyot in Grades 5, 6 and 7 (in 1979-1980).

Criterion D This alternative minimizes additional costs, since building alterations would not be needed, and French instructional and library materials are already available.

Criterion E This alternative is viable for many years to come, since the population of the B program is likely to decline rapidly.

CONCLUSION This alternative provides a favourable setting for the program, makes good use of available space, limits disruption to 127 students, minimizes additional costs, and is a viable longterm solution for the upper grades of immersion. It is certainly an acceptable solution. The major disadvantage is the use of space in North St. Boniface for Windsor Park/Southdale students.

ALTERNATIVE 2A: USE SURPLUS SPACE AT LOUIS RIEL COLLEGIATE TO ACCOMMODATE AN IMMERSION PROGRAM, GRADES 5 - 8.

Criterion A Because the school is partially French, it provides a favourable linguistic setting for the program, in part. However, many Louis Riel Collegiate students do not speak French, so this would not be as favourable a setting as Provencher in this regard.

Additionally, the Grades 9 - 12 setting is less favourable than the K - 8, and the services of specialists would not necessarily be available.

Criterion B This alternative makes good use of space available, since Louis Riel Collegiate needs only 17 of 35 classrooms in 1979-1980. (This is contingent on an extension of the lease at the College.)

Criterion C This alternative minimizes disruption for students. The only students to move, or be directly affected, would be the 127 from Guyot in Grades 5, 6 and 7 (in 1979-1980).

Criterion D This alternative minimizes additional costs, since building alterations would not be needed. However, additional library and instructional materials would be needed.

Criterion E This alternative is viable while the Division continues to lease space for the College Secondaire at St. Boniface College. However, should this lease not be renewed for four years, this becomes a very short-term solution.

CONCLUSION: This alternative does not provide a very good setting for the program, makes good use of available space, minimizes disruption for students, involves some additional materials costs, and is a good longterm solution if the lease is renewed for facilities at College. The major disadvantage is the use of space in North St. Boniface for Windsor Park/Southdale students.

ALTERNATIVE 2B: PHASE OUT THE PRESENT PROGRAMS AT LOUIS RIEL COLLEGIATE ("B" TO PROVENCHER, AND "C" AND "D" TO PIERRE RADISSON/WINDSOR PARK COLLEGIATE) AND PHASE IN THE TOTAL IMMERSION PROGRAM. RETAIN GUYOT AS AN IMMERSION SCHOOL FOR K-4 STUDENTS.

Criterion A The setting would be good becuase the immersion students would eventually be the sole occupants of the school, as a Grade 5-12 school. However, in the phase-in period there would be serious difficulties.

Criterion B This alternative makes adequate use of space available, although a Grades 5 - 12 Immersion program could not hope to enroll more than about 500 students, and Louis Riel Collegiate can accommodate at least 800. It would be difficult to justify moving students from Louis Riel to Provencher, with so many rooms available at Louis Riel Collegiate.

Criterion C This alternative involves considerable disruption for about 400 Louis Riel students, now and in the future.

Criterion D There would be substantial additional costs involved in providing adequate facilities at Provencher for Grades 9 - 12 students, in bussing Marion students to Windsor Park for Grades 9 - 12, and in providing instruction and library materials for immersion at Louis Riel Collegiate.

ALTERNATIVE 2B

Criterion E This alternative is viable while the College lease continues.

CONCLUSION: This sub-alternative improves the setting for the program, but involves considerable disruption, not very good use of space, and substantial additional costs. It also involves using North St. Boniface space for Windsor Park/Southdale students.

ALTERNATIVE 3: USE A WINDSOR PARK ELEMENTARY SCHOOL TO ACCOMMODATE GRADES K-4 IMMERSION STUDENTS WHO ARE WINDSOR PARK RESIDENTS (i.e. 23 KINDERGARTEN REGISTRANTS, 32 GRADE 1, 41 GRADE 2, 35 GRADE 3, 22 GRADE 4, TOTAL 153, REQUIRING 7 CLASSROOMS.) THE PROGRAM COULD GROW TO A K-6 PROGRAM, WITH CONTINUATION AT GUYOT. (See notes which follow for more details.)

Criterion A The provision of a location and setting favourable to the program is questionable in this alternative, since the Immersion program might share the school. Some provision could be made to separate areas of the school, but clearly the French ambiance would suffer, to some extent.

Criterion B This alternative makes excellent use of space available, since there are many empty classrooms in Windsor Park.

Criterion C This alternative minimizes disruption, since only the 153 Guyot students would be affected, and their travelling time would be reduced.

Criterion D This alternative limits additional costs, since reduced transportation costs would offset minor building changes. There would be costs for materials, especially library materials (see Notes).

Criterion E This alternative might be viable over the long term, depending on which school was used, and whether or not the existing program was phased out (see Notes).

NOTES

There are two major issues to be resolved, within this alternative: which school will be used, and will the present population be moved immediately, phased out, or remain?

If the school is to be shared, then the largest school should be used, to provide maximum space for sharing. If the present population is to be moved immediately, then the smallest school should be used, to minimize disruption.

The present school populations, with capacities and rate of decline, are as follows:

	CLASS ROOMS	CAPACITY	ENROLMENT Mar.31/75 A	Mar.31/79 B	PERCENT DECLINE B ÷ A	PERCENT SPACE USED
Prendergast	18	475	505	355	70.3%	74.7%
Howden	19	500	444*	310*	69.8%	62.0%
Frontenac	25	675	666	405	60.8%	60.0%
General Vanier	23	625	610	436*	71.5%	69.8%
Total W.P. Elem	85	2275	2225	1506	67.7%	66.2%

* excludes Special Education students, who can readily be accommodated in any school.

At present, we need 66% of 85 rooms available, or 56 rooms. Thus there are about 29 spare classrooms at present in the four Windsor Park elementary schools.

ALTERNATIVE 3:
The three versions of this alternative are these:

I MOVE IN IMMERSION; MOVE OUT PRESENT PROGRAM

Logically, it would be preferable to use Howden School to minimize disruption. Howden students could attend Frontenac or General Vanier, and Special Education students could attend Prendergast. The benefits, with reference to the criteria, are as follows:

A. This provides a good setting for the program, which would fill the school in a few years, drawing on the Windsor Park population.

B. This makes excellent use of space available, because it helps to fill declining schools, and the many empty classrooms.

C. This localizes disruptions to one school population of 310 (and the immersion students affected). Staff allocation is simple, because teachers would follow students.

D. Additional costs are minimal.

E. The Immersion program (k-8 or 9) would be well accommodated for the foreseeable future. School capacities of Guyot and Howden are 400 and 500 = 900. With enrolments of 80-90 per grade, the maximum space needed will be 9 grades x 90, or 810.

II MOVE IN IMMERSION; PHASE OUT PRESENT PROGRAM

It would be preferable to use the school with the most surplus space at present, i.e. Frontenac with 10 rooms spare, to minimize crowding. The Kindergarten registrants at Frontenac could be accommodated at Howden and Prendergast.

A. This would provide a good setting for the program, in the long run, with ample room for growth. In the short run, the ambiance would suffer from sharing the school.

B. This makes excellant use of space available, because it helps to fill declining Windsor Park schools.

C. This alternative minimizes disruptions, since only the 153 immersion students and the 35 Frontenac Kindergarten registrants would be affected.

D. This alternative limits additional costs, particularly if for the first year or two the students at Frontenac are treated as Guyot students, with administrative, support and specialist services, and library materials being provided from Guyot. Eventually, the group would become independent. The major additional cost would be the salary of a full or part-time vice-principal.

E. This alternative would be viable for the foreseeable future, since eventually the capacities of Guyot and Frontenac would be available for Immersion programs (400 + 675 = 1075).

III MOVE IN IMMERSION; RETAIN PRESENT PROGRAM

This would certainly require the use of the largest Windsor Park elementary school, Frontenac. It could easily accommodate its present enrolment of 405 and the 153 immersion students, since it has a capacity of 675. The rate of decline of Frontenac also suggests that it could accommodate a K-6 Immersion School (at 30 per grade = 210) and its future enrolment of about 300 K-6 English program students.

A. This would provide an adequate but not good setting for the program, because of the difficulty of maintaining a good linguistic ambiance.

B-E In other respects, the advantages are the same as the previous versions of this alternative.

CONCLUSION: Alternative 3, in any one of the three versions, seems the best available. Probably version II, in which a phasing in of immersion, and phasing out of the existing program occurs, is the best option open to the Board at this time. (See p.6 of the November 24 report.)

ALTERNATIVE 4: SWITCH SHAMROCK AND GUYOT POPULATIONS, WITH GRADE 7 and 8 SHAMROCK STUDENTS REMAINING AT J.H. BRUNS.

Criterion A This alternative provides a location and setting favourable to the success of the program.

Criterion B This does not make very good use of space available, which is in Windsor Park and North St. Boniface, and does limit our capacity to accommodate the growing population around Shamrock School. Some redistribution of students to Van Belleghem would help. To use space in Southdale to accommodate Windsor Park students, when there is ample space in Windsor Park, seems unwise.

Criterion C This involves considerable disruption for all students at Shamrock and Guyot, and would have serious effects on the excellent program established at Shamrock, as pointed out in the brief by Shamrock parents.

Criterion D Additional costs are not significant.

Criterion E This alternative is viable over the long term for the Immersion program, but may produce accommodation problems for the other schools in the long run.

CONCLUSION: This alternative fails to meet any of the criteria except A. It cannot be recommended. There is a subalternative, in which the Guyot overflow uses some space at Shamrock. This is certainly viable in the short term, but in the long term means moving Grade 7 and 8 Shamrock students to J.H. Bruns. It has the same consequences as the switch of schools, in the long run.

ALTERNATIVE 5: USE BELIVEAU SCHOOL, RELOCATING GRADE 7 AND 8 STUDENTS IN WINDSOR PARK ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS, AND GRADE 9 STUDENTS IN WINDSOR PARK COLLEGIATE AND PIERRE RADISSON COMPOSITE SECONDARY SCHOOL, AND CLOSING GUYOT SCHOOL.

Criterion A This provides a favourable location for the Immersion program, but at the cost of the existing junior high school program, which would lose its favourable setting. Programs would be very seriously affected. (See November 24 report and the brief from Beliveau parents.)

Criterion B This makes adequate use of space available, although it would entail using junior high school facilities for elementary students, and elementary facilities for junior high school students.

Criterion C This alternative maximizes disruption since most of the present population of Beliveau would be affected, as well as the Grade 6 students from the feeder schools. Additionally, all Guyot students would be affected.

An additional disruption involves the Beliveau staff. They could not be accommodated in elementary schools, since they are subject specialists without elementary experience, for the most part. Staff placement would be an extremely serious problem.

Criterion D This alternative maximizes additional capital costs to renovate K-6 schools, but would reduce transportation costs.

Criterion E This is viable over the long term.

CONCLUSION: This alternative really involves the disruption of a perfectly satisfactory junior high program, in order to improve immersion opportunities. It is hard to see how education in St. Boniface would benefit in the aggregate.

ALTERNATIVE 6: USE WILLIAM RUSSELL TO ACCOMMODATE THE WINDSOR PARK STUDENTS AT GUYOT IN GRADES K - 4 (153 STUDENTS).

Criterion A This would provide a good location and setting for the program.

Criterion B This alternative is very unsatisfactory in terms of this criterion, since it would add 10 classrooms in Windsor Park, where there are already 25 or 30 surplus classrooms.

Criterion C This minimizes disruption to parents and students, but maximizes disruption for the 38 employees presently working at William Russell.

Criterion D This alternative maximizes additional costs, since William Russell would have to be reconverted to a school, and a new office building would have to be found. At present costs, at least $250,000 would be necessary, little of which would be recoverable from the Department of Education. There would also be the additional costs of operating another school, about $75,000 annually. In other respects, additional costs would be as for Alternative 3.

Criterion E This alternative would provide accommodation for about 650 immersion students, i.e. for about two years only.

CONCLUSION: Given the very heavy costs, and the very short term nature of this alternative, it cannot be recommended. In addition, it is likely not possible to find alternative office space by September 1979, within the school division, except in a school. That is, we would be converting offices to a school, and part of a school to offices, at considerable cost. This seems wasteful.

ALTERNATIVE 7: USE VAN BELLEGHEM AS AN IMMERSION SCHOOL, FOR PORTION OF THE GUYOT POPULATION. ACCOMMODATE VAN BELLEGHEM K - 6 STUDENTS AT SHAMROCK, AND VAN BELLEGHEM AND SHAMROCK 7 - 8 STUDENTS AT J.H. BRUNS COLLEGIATE.

Criterion A This would provide an adequate setting the the Immersion program.

Criterion B This alternative makes adequate but not good use of space, since we would be short of space for growth at Shamrock, while a great many classrooms remained empty in Windsor Park.

Criterion C This involves disruption for all Van Belleghem students, Grade 7 and 8 at Shamrock, and many teachers. It would very substantially disrupt existing programs, which parents find perfectly satisfactory.

Criterion D The additional costs here are not significant.

Criterion E This alternative is viable over the long term for Immersion programs, but not for regular Southdale programs.

CONCLUSION: This alternative cannot be recommended, since it is very disruptive and not a viable solution in the long term.

RECOMMENDATION

Based on the considerations detailed above, I recommend that the Board adopt, in principle, ALTERNATIVE 3, the use of a Windsor Park elementary school, with further consideration to be given to identifying which immersion students are moved, and how they are to be accommodated.

APPENDIX B

LETTER B1

2:45 pm

RECEIVED
APR 12 1978
ST. BONIFACE
SCHOOL DIVISION

31 Peterboro Bay
Winnipeg, Manitoba
April 11, 1979

St. Boniface School Board
50 Monterey Road
Winnipeg, Manitoba

Dear Board Members:

As a concerned and war-weary member of the Guyot Parent Council, I present this to you with the Council's endorsement in an attitude of frustration and dismay. That you, our elected trustees of the education of our children, should have allowed the Guyot expansion problem to precipitate such social unrest that police protection at parent meetings is advisable, is irresponsible and reprehensible.

Having been involved in the Guyot "question" on an active and continuing basis since May 1977 when the word immersion was first introduced, I say to you unequivocably, that you have betrayed a trust that we, parents of re-located children, placed in you at that time. I refer to the communication sent to us May 11, 1977. A copy of which I have included for your reference.

No doubt, in due course, you intend to fulfill the assurances contained therein, but the time has long passed for your decision and we can no longer trust that an appropriate solution will be forthcoming. Your indecision has also been directly responsible for the unfortunate social situation that has alienated neighbors and resulted in harassment of children, not to mention the aforesaid "Police protection" incident. I suggest that had correct procedure been followed and had pertinent information been divulged, such as projected classroom vacancies and a precise description of immersion, these social problems would not exist to the extent that we now experience. I sympathize with these well meaning, but ill-informed parents from other schools whose only concern is that their children be re-located and, in, some cases, that certain extraneous fringe benefits may be made a little less convenient. However, at no time, has the very essence of their program been jeopardized, nor have any commitments to them been threatened.

I do not, at this time, wish to elaborate on the assurances made to us. The enclosed communique is quite explicit. Let me draw your attention to just one specific phrase at this time which, I feel is basis to our concerns. It is to be found in the first paragraph -

...2

"Ecole Guyot will eventually include K - 8". At no time is the question of space for this inclusion discussed. I assume this was not felt necessary at the time because the immersion program was an unknown entity the projected enrolment of which was impossible to determine. Although I have no written documentation, I recall Dr. Coleman's stating at a parent information meeting to explain your May 10, 1977 decision that Guyot was the ideal location for such an unknown quantity because the possibilities for expansion to the existing building were more likely by virtue of the large surrounding area. What else were we to assume, if not that our immersion program, K - 8, inclusive would be properly housed? We had concerns about this issue as early as the very inception of our immersion concept and they have not lessened in the two years we have entrusted you with it.

The minutes of our parent council meetings record that the question of expansion and lack of facilities was first discussed on November 2, 1977. A presentation of the impending problem was forwarded to you on November 20, 1977. I include a copy of the reply received from the Public Schools Finance Board dated June 30, 1978 re the Guyot "Question" and I suggest that one definitive action - ie. that of requesting a temporary classroom unit and authorization to construct an addition to the school, both of which were denied, - taken in a period of a year and a half is barely more than complete inaction. Your failure to make a decision over this extended period of time concerns me, a taxpayer and member of the electorate, greatly and I request a reply to my letter on or before Tuesday, April 17, 1979 at which time a large delegation of Guyot parents are preparing to attend your meeting.

A suitable alternative for Guyot School must be provided before September 1979 and time must be allowed prior to that date to adequately inform the parents of children attending the re-organized facility in a manner similar to that which was followed subsequent to the May 10, 1977 re-organization decision. Which, I might suggest, was handled well and for which you are to be commended. With that experience in mind, I am confident that you will now proceed in a similar fashion. Regretable, time does not permit any further discussion if this course is to be followed and the damage done to the community during the past few months will require a little more involvement than did the last re-location question.

Should this situation be allowed to continue I am afraid your betrayal of us in failing to adequately fulfill your commitments as

...3

outlined in the enclosed comminique will prove embarassing to you. The descrepancies between the assurances made to the Lacerte parents and those made to the Guyot parents indicate our naivity and inexperience at that time, but be assured, we are no longer thus. Two years of involvement with your Board have made us a wiser entity in the realm of School Board politics. Very little elaboration on the contents of the two communications contained herein will be required to prove that you have acted irresponsibly during the two years that you have existed as a Board.

Sincerely,

E. A. Wilson

Mrs. E. A. Wilson
Member
Guyot Parent Council

EAW/pw
Encl.

APPENDIX B

LETTER B2

RECEIVED
MAY 1 1979
ST. BONIFACE
SCHOOL DIVISION

23 Ormiston Road,
Winnipeg, Manitoba.
R2J 2Z1

April 27, 1979.

Dear Mrs. Huot:

We are sure you feel you have heard it all before, but as concerned Howden School parents, we feel it is imperative that we express our very great concerns over the decision that has been made to take our school away from our children.

We cannot understand how this can happen in a democratic society. We have four children, all have been and three still are Howden students. We purchased our home in this neighbourhood so that our children would not have to cross busy intersections or have that far to walk to school. Now it seems we are to send our three children, one of whom is only six years old to a school where they do have to cross busy intersections and have a long distance to walk. WHY when we have a school almost in our back yard.

It does'nt seem to make any sense that our children have to come home crying because they are losing their school and their teachers, yes they do consider it their school and their teachers. We have lived in different cities and provinces, and have never seen such closeness between students and teachers. They have worked hard as a team at Howden School and made it a school everyone is proud to be part of. Now some unfeeling adults who do not understand are trying to take this away from them. They just do not understand, but then we are adults and we cannot understand it either.

It breaks our hearts to say to them that we do not know how to save their school for them. Yet mom and dad are here to protect them and their property - they have to do something!

So we are writing this letter on behalf of our three children and all their fellow classmates who beg YOU to save their school for them.

There has to be an alternative other than making so many children, parents and interested people so unhappy. There has never been so much alienation between friends and neighbours as there is now, this CANNOT be the way to solve a problem.

We understand that not all of you are taking a stand against Howden School, if you are one of these please accept our thank you for seeing our concerns. If you have taken a stand against our children, we ask you to take a second look.

Is this the only way? Is it worth the price it is costing our children and our community? IS IT?

Sincerely,

Bruce & Marlene Amell.

c.c. Abe Kovnats MLA
Howden School Committee

ED218748

THE EFFECTS OF TWO SUPERVISORY FOCUSES ON RATING CLASSROOM SITUATIONS BASED ON SIX-MINUTE VIDEOTAPE SEGMENTS

Paper prepared for presentation at
the 1981 Canadian Society for the
Study of Education Conference,
Halifax, Nova Scotia, June 3, 1981.

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EA 014 776

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INTRODUCTION AND STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The process of supervision of instruction has gone through various phases since the turn of the century. The late 19th century and early 20th century saw the supervisor as an inspector of teachers who was held responsible to see that teachers met certain standards of efficiency. The focus was on the person (teacher). The role of the supervisor changed during the late 1920's to that of a cooperating member of the educational group. Attention was given to the interaction process, that is the interaction between the supervisor and the teacher on one level and the interaction between the teacher and the students on another level. The emphasis of supervision, therefore, had shifted from the person to the process. During the turmoil of social unrest of the 1960's, the school system was called on to account for educational results. In answer to this demand for social responsibility, educational administrators sought ways to measure the effects of education. Supervision began to evaluate the teaching process in terms of output in the form of pupil behavior in the classroom situation.

Educational research went through phases that could be said to parallel those of the supervisory process. Research during the early 1900's tried to measure teacher efficiency by looking for teacher characteristics that fit that model. Later, the attention of research shifted from studying personal qualities of teachers to looking at teaching skills, strategies, techniques and styles of an effective teacher.

Researchers did not yet look at the effects of learning or the relationship of teaching to effective learning. During the mid-60's, research began to relate the teaching process to the product in the form of student achievement. About the same time, research was being done that emphasized the pupil in classroom observation and the interactions between the teacher and pupils in relation to student gains.

In spite of the above, supervision as a practice has been primarily interested in the teacher. Although there is little disagreement that the main concern of all partners in the educational enterprise is the pupil, this concern has not been brought formally into the supervisory process.

An analysis of supervisory report forms by the researcher has given more evidence that most supervisors believe that they can rate the classroom situation by looking at the teacher and the teaching process. Given the continued wide use of rating scales, it could be proposed that observation of pupils could be made part of the rating form as a way to bring it into the supervisory process.

This study will examine the effects of two supervisory focuses on ratings of the classroom situation. Subjects will be asked to observe and rate videotape segments of a teacher teaching a session, versus observing students reacting to the classroom situation.

REVIEW OF RELEVANT LITERATURE

Reviews of the development of administrative thought often propose three recent historical periods or emphases, that is, the scientific management, the human relations and the behavioral science eras (Etzioni, 1964; Gross, 1965; and Grusky & Miller, 1970). Modern supervision of instruction has evolved through a pattern that resembles the administrative focuses in industry and business.

FOCUS OF ADMINISTRATION - PRODUCER (PERSON)

The rapid industrial development of the late 19th and early 20th centuries brought the Scientific Management movement into vogue. Taylor, considered by many to be the founder of this movement said, "excellence in management is knowing exactly what you want men to do and then seeing that they do it in the best and cheapest way" (Taylor, 1911, p. 21).

Efficiency and precision were stressed. The task of management, proposed administrative experts, was to define carefully and uniformly the requirements of each job for workers. Time studies and the gathering of production data were the basis for these specifications (Taylor, 1911; Fayol, 1949; Gulick & Urwick, 1937). Information arrived at through observation and analysis was systematically classified to form a set of laws or principles for obtaining maximum efficiency from the worker. The focus then was on the producer, the person as a tool in the production process.

The scientific management movement in industry influenced educators in training and supervising teachers. There was a surge of interest in scientific measurement through systematic visitation and rating systems with a focus on efficient modes of or methods of teaching.

Suzzallo in "Supervision of Teaching" (A Cyclopedia of Education, 1914) illustrates the trend in education at the time by stating, "all sound supervision of schools must be based upon acquaintance with actual conditions in the classroom. There are two current modes of becoming acquainted with the work of teachers: (1) Personal visitations or inspection of classroom work; (2) the impersonal analysis of the teacher's efficiency through examinations, or similar tests of efficiency." (p. 469) (underlining mine)

Bobbit also is illustrative of the trend, "at a time when so much discussion is being given to the possibilities of 'scientific management' in the world of material production, it seems desirable that the principles of this more effective form of management may be examined in order to ascertain the possibility of applying them to the problems of educational management and supervision" (Bobbit, 1913, pp. 6-7).

The supervisor's task, it was proposed, was to discover a set of educational laws (models of efficient teaching) to be applied to the producer (teacher). Qualifications of teachers were to be specifically defined, and the supervisor was responsible for seeing that all teachers met standard qualifications (Cubberley, 1916; Reeder, 1931). Such specifications and qualifications were to be set and complete, and teachers were expected to perform efficiently. As in industry, the focus was on the producer, in this case the teacher.

During this period there were few attempts to test the relationship of teacher qualifications to pupil achievement. Although it was suggested by some researchers of the time that pupil growth should be the basis of measuring teacher efficiency (Brooks, 1921; Monroe, 1920; Buckingham, 1920), the standardized tests given students were not tested for relationships to teacher characteristics. "The purpose of these educational tests has been to ascertain how the pupils of their schools stood in comparison with pupils in corresponding grades of other schools or with reference to standard scores" (Monroe, 1920). A battery of achievement tests was not an adequate valid instrument for measuring the factors in growth and could not and were not related directly to teacher characteristics or methods.

The focus of attention of models of efficient teaching was on the teacher, evaluation was the purpose, and it was assumed that good learning took place. The supervisor represented management in the role of the administrative expert who inspected teachers and made judgments.

Educational research of the period attempted to define "teaching success" through measures of teaching efficiency. It was believed that any test to predict the success of the teacher must deal with the personal and professional qualities of the teacher herself, that "the best way to improve learning was to improve the teachers" (Elsbree, McNally & Wynne, 1967, p. 143).

Research in the early 1900's tried to find the means for measuring teacher efficiency. One type of research used questionnaires to collect the opinions of students as to the success or failure of teachers (Book, 1905; Kratz, 1907; Littler, 1914; Moses, 1914; Buellesfield, 1915; Anderson, 1917; Colvin, 1918). In all these studies, researchers drew conclusions about the weak points in the teaching process. The following list of causes of failure among teachers was developed: 1) lack of control over the technique of teaching, 2) lack of ability to maintain order and discipline, 3) lack of mastery of subject matter, 4) lack of intelligence, 5) lack of effort, 6) lack of initiative, 7) lack of adaptability, 8) lack of common sense, 9) lack of physical ability, 10) lack of standards of teaching efficiency, 11) lack of ability to carry on, 12) lack of singleness of purpose, 13) lack of sympathetic understanding of pupils, 14) lack of social background, 15) lack of knowledge of what pupils can do, 16) lack of personality, and 17) lack of moral standards.

Other research examined what constitutes success by obtaining the judgment of educators (Ruediger & Strayer, 1910; Boyce, 1912, 1915; Clapp, 1915; Anderson, 1917; Landsittel, 1917; Bradley, 1918; and Fordyce, 1919). All these studies attempted to identify certain individual factors (characteristics) that could be said to have general merit. Teacher traits generally considered to be significant were discipline, cooperation, adequate scholarship, voice, care of individual differences, health, loyalty, command of English, daily preparations, and care of such physical conditions as heat, ventilation and lights.

Rating scales of the early 1900's attempted to analyze general merit and teacher success. Seventeen traits were contained in a graphic rating scale devised by Freyd (1923): 1) physique and bearing, 2) neatness in dress, 3) self-possession, 4) sociability, 5) physical energy, 6) alertness,

7) sense of humor, 8) self-assertion, 9) tact, 10) popularity, 11) impartiality, 12) patience, 13) acceptance of criticism, 14) ability to think on feet, 15) fluency of speech, 16) distinctness of speech and 17) interest in teaching.

The above listed traits were all personal traits and characteristics, all focused directly on the teacher and none attempted to relate them to pupil learning. The analysis of parts (characteristics) of teachers that added up to the whole (general merit) was the same approach taken by scientific managers in business and industry.

THE FOCUS OF ADMINISTRATION - THE SOCIAL PROCESS

The Human Relations movement evolved in the late 1920's to a large degree as a direct protest against the authority structure and the impersonality of scientific management. The 20's and 30's was a period of economic depression, when strong feelings of democracy and equality were being vocalized. Trade unions were growing, too, in an effort to protect individual workers. Three styles of leadership were conceptualized (laissez faire, democratic and autocratic) and attention was focused on the inadequacies of scientific management (Lewin, Lippett & White, 1939). Results of industrial and psychological research challenged the ideology of scientific management (Follet, 1924; Mayo, 1933; Gardner, 1945). Findings of studies indicated that relationships between workers and supervisors could be the most important factor in production. It was found that non-economic rewards such as belonging, responsibility, recognition, status or advancement were more important motivators than economic rewards. Further, research revealed that group members who participate in decisions

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are more likely to accept decisions made (Mayo, 1933; Roethlisberger, 1941).

Emphasis began to be put on interpersonal aspects of organized behavior, that is, the process of interactions. Focus was no longer on the individual producer alone but on his daily interactions with others and the effectiveness of the system or process.

This is shown in the more recent work of Mc Gregor (1960) who developed a theory that there are two styles of management behavior. He proposed that "behind every managerial decision or action are assumptions about human nature and human behavior." (p. 33) He saw the traditional view of direction and control as Theory X. Theory X is the set of assumptions that explains a particular managerial strategy: "1) the average human being has an inherent dislike to work and will avoid it if he can, 2)...most people must be coerced, controlled, directed, threatened with punishment to get them to put forth adequate effort toward the achievement of organizational objectives and 3) the average human being prefers to be directed, wishes to avoid responsibility, has little ambition, wants security above all." (pp. 33-34) Theory Y, the second style of management behavior proposed by Mc Gregor, was comprised of the following set of assumptions:

> 1. the expenditure of physical and mental effort in work is as natural as play or rest,
>
> 2. external control and the threat of punishment are not the only means for bringing about effort toward organizational objectives. Man will exercise self-direction and self-control in the service of objectives to which he is committed,
>
> 3. commitment to objectives is a function of the rewards associated with their achievement,

> 4) the average human being learns, under proper conditions, not only to accept but to seek responsibility,

> 5) the capacity to exercise a relatively high degree of imagination, ingenuity and creativity in the solution of organizational problems is widely, not narrowly, distributed in the population, and
>
> 6) under the conditions of modern industrial life, the intellectual potentialities of the average human being are only partially utilized. (Ibid. pp. 47-48)

Mc Gregor saw the human relations manager, the Theory Y administrator, as concerned with the importance of people. Theory Y did not assume workers are passive or resistant but that motivation, potential, and capacity for responsibility are present in all people. Management's role, in this view, is to motivate people to accept goals of the organization as their own by relating to them as people not as tools or cogs in the machinery. Roethlisberger (1941) and Mayo (1933) had concluded that to achieve organizational goals, it was more effective to bring the person's goals (informal) in tune with those of the organization (formal). The ultimate goal, however, was to increase production.

In education and in the supervision of teachers, emphasis began also to be placed on interpersonal relationships. Butts & Chamberlain (The Encyclopedia of Modern Education, 1943) noted, "in general, the trend in supervision is away from an authoritative inspection of the work of teachers by higher officials and toward a cooperative effort designed to help teachers improve their own philosophy and methods of teaching." (p. 781)

Democratic principles began to be applied to the supervisory role (Sears, 1950). It was assumed that teachers were capable of participating in decisions on teaching and curriculum. The role of the supervisor was to provide a climate where this could happen.

Attention was given to the task of finding ways to release the potential within the individual teachers. Thus, a stronger emphasis was placed on the supervisor working with the teacher as a person and on the inter-personal interaction, and the criteria for teaching effectiveness was how the teacher related with pupils.

Focus of attention was now on process not solely on producer. The supervisor was identified as a cooperating member of a total group studying the interaction and methodology of a particular teaching-learning situation.

Educational research on teacher effectiveness during this era took two approaches. One thrust of the research consisted of a search for teacher characteristics or traits, categories of teacher behavior that were related in some way to various criteria of teacher effectiveness. Barr (1929) measured teacher effectiveness by identifying broad categories of teacher behaviors as well as specific behaviors from coded observations of teacher-pupil interaction. For example, he identified the "means used by good and poor teachers in motivating work." He found, specifically, that good teachers use direct means such as presenting a subject that is interesting, designing problem-setting and purposeful activity or employing interests and experiences of pupils to motivate work. He found that poor teachers show little or no evidence of trying to motivate students.

In the second approach, judgments were based on teacher characteristics or on aspects of the teacher's behavior that were observable. Attempts were made to describe patterns of teacher behavior fairly specifically in studies conducted using measures of teacher attitudes, personality, variability, values, preferences, interests and favored activities. Other research in this category concerned itself with contrast between teaching according to a project method vs. teaching according to a subject method.

In a major project, the Teacher Characteristics Study, Ryans (1962) described three dimensions of teacher classroom behavior. Ryans described good interpersonal relationships in his search for characteristics of interpersonal relations. By establishing "dyadic units," Ryans identified specific teacher behaviors that occurred in the interaction process which stimulated students.

Ryans' Pattern X_o teacher behavior (friendly, understanding, sympathic vs. aloof, egocentric, restricted) can be likened to McGregor's Theory Y administrative behavior. His Pattern Y_o teacher behavior (responsible, systematic, businesslike vs. unplanned, slipshod) was similar to McGregor's Theory X administrative behavior. His Pattern Z_o teacher behavior (stimulating, imaginative, surgent vs. dull, routine) parellels to some extent McGregor's Theory Y administrative behavior but introduces a different dimension, one of enthusiasm.

Ryans' study used three clusters to assess teachers as "high" or "low" with respect to patterns of desired classroom behavior and compared the characteristics of teachers nominated by principals as superior or inferior in social behavior in an effort "..to compile information on significant teacher characteristics and to develop objective measures that might be used in evaluating and predicting teaching behavior" (p. 369).

Research during the period, however, lacked acceptable criteria of what might be considered effective teaching. Ratings of teachers were generally based on judgments of supervisors or principals which reflected educational viewpoints and biases of individual raters in an effort to identify an effective teacher. Researchers did not yet look at the effects of learning and the relationship of teachers to effective learning. The focus of research had, however, shifted from studying the personal qualities of teachers to an analysis of the interaction between the personalities of students and teachers, that is, to the process of teaching.

FOCUS OF ADMINISTRATION - THE PRODUCTION, PROCESS-PRODUCT

Since the mid 50's, there has been an effort to bring together the concepts of scientific management and human relations in the study of organizational management. This era has variously been called the behavioral science era, the theoretical era, the social science era and the social psychological era. It is described in this way because of attempts to apply concepts from all behavioral sciences to the study of administration.

Chester Barnard (1938) suggested that organizations, being combinations of many parts and relationships, are worthy of study. His aim was to develop a theory of administration in formal and informal organizations. Barnard proposed a synthesis of scientific management and human relations ideas in his theory of cooperative behavior. He asserted that an organization is held together by some common purpose, that is, by the willingness of members to contribute to the operation of the organization and by the ability of such members to communicate with each other. He treated the organization as a cooperative system of physical, biological, personal and social elements in mutual dependency.

The function of the leader, according to Barnard, is to coordinate personal and impersonal forces to maximize effectiveness and efficiency. Barnard brought these two concepts, inherent in the thinking of scientific management and human relations, into the foreground by his dichotomization of terms.

Barnard stated, "what we mean by 'effectiveness' of cooperation is the accomplishment of the recognized objectives of cooperative action. The degree of accomplishment indicates the degree of effectiveness." (p. 55)

He goes on to state, "the efficiency of a cooperative system is the resultant of the efficiencies of the individuals furnishing the constituent efforts, that is, as viewed by them. The efficiency of a cooperative system is its capacity to maintain itself by the individual satisfactions it affords." (pp. 56-57) The satisfaction which an individual receives in exchange for his contributions may be seen as inducements or incentives. He summarizes, "the efficiency of cooperation, therefore, depends upon what it secures and produces on one hand, and how it distributes its resources and how it changes motives on the other." (p. 59)

Like Barnard, Herbert A. Simon (1945) emphasized that the equilibrium of an organization depended on its ability to induce cooperation. He built his new theory partly on the work of Barnard, his former teacher. Simon was primarily concerned with the decision making approach in analyzing an organization. "The organization, then, takes from the individual some of his decisional autonomy, and substitutes for it an organizational decision-making process." (p. 8) He listed some of the decisions usually made by the organization: "(1) specify his (the) function (of the worker),...(2) allocate authority... and (3) set such other limits to...choice as are needed to coordinate the activities of several individuals in the organization." (pp. 8-9)

Simon suggested that the structure and function of an organization could best be designed through an examination of decision making. He proposed an analysis of the manner in which decisions are made, the points at which decisions must be made, the persons from whom information must be required, and how the behavior of employees is influenced within and by the organization.

He further proposed, "rational decision-making always requires the comparisons of alternative means in terms of the respective ends to which they will lead...this means that 'efficiency' -- the attainment of maximum values with limited means -- must be a guiding criterion in administrative decision." (p. 65)

Simon's criterion of "efficiency" as applied to administrative decisions is analogous to the concept of maximization of utility in economic theory. Simon states, "the analogy between the two propositions extends also to the assumptions which underlie them...there is a scarcity of applicable resources...the activities concerned are 'instrumental' activities -- that is, activities that are carried on for the positive values they produce, in the form of some kind of 'result'...

both propositions involve the comparability, at least subjectively, of the values in terms which results are measured." (p. 182) The economic definition of efficiency has dominated since that time.

Many behavioral scientists used sociology, psychology and other social sciences as the underlying basis for study of organizations (Presthus, 1962; Selznick, 1940; Weber, 1947; Etzioni, 1964; March, 1955; Blau & Scott, 1962; Homans, 1950; Bakke & Argyis, 1954; Parsons, 1951 - Sociology; Maslow, 1954; Thompson, 1967; Katz & Kahn, 1966 - Psychology; Lasswell, 1950; Merriam, 1944, 1950; Boulding, 1953, 1958; Dahl & Lindblom, 1953; Michels, 1949; Coleman, 1966 - Political Science).

A review of research reveals studies of characteristics, conditions, and processes of organizations, such as: cooperation (Selznick, 1940), relations between activity, interaction, norms and sentiments (Homans, 1950), socializing and personalizing (Bakke & Argyis, 1954), role and personality factors (Getzels, Lipham & Campbell, 1957), search behavior (March & Simon, 1958), benefit and purposes of organization (Blau & Scott, 1962), objectives (Presthus, 1962), means of control (Etzioni, 1964), organizational components or sub-systems (Katz & Kahn, 1966), ends-means (Thompson, 1967), and contingency (Lawrence & Lorsch, 1969).

Statements made by these scholars, however, were often made in ways that did not provide explicit guides for management practice such as were made in the writings during the scientific management and human relations periods and did not offer "principles" or "laws" of management. Research was descriptive, hypothetical, or empirical but it directed investigation by offering propositions or hypotheses to test.

Organizational theories of behavioral scientists did not affect specific aspects of supervision until around the mid-1960's. Until that time, the principles of supervision of instruction reflected concepts of the human relations era.

During the middle and late 1960's certain social issues came forward in the United States, civil rights movement, widespread opposition to the war ~~in~~ Vietnam, inequality of opportunity, national economic crisis, and public fiscal concern. These issues made people more aware and encouraged them to re-assess their values. People sought newer ways of participation. There were more issue-oriented, ad hoc organizations in which the individual had greater opportunity to articulate preferences and make decisions. Personal competence had risen and belief in the system's responsiveness had fallen; both these changes encouraged people to participate in activities and attempt to effect change through unconventional channels.

The school system, along with political, legal and economic systems, recognized the need to respond to demands for social responsibility. A hue and cry was heard from the public as to why schools were turning out students who could not read or who were poorly prepared in the mathematics and sciences necessary in a technological age. This climate of social unrest pushed educational administrators to try to find ways to measure the results of education. Administrators began to use models from business and industry for evaluation of the process in relation to the product.

Supervision, prior to this time, had focused on the teaching process. With the 60s, however, it began to evaluate the teaching process in terms of output. It studied teacher behavior and characteristics, in the form of teaching styles, methods, models and strategies that predict, and preferably cause, specific products in the form of student behavior and attitude. Teacher effectiveness, then, was defined in terms of relationships between teacher classroom behavior (process) and specific student behavior outcomes (products). A whole set of process-product studies resulted.

Rosenshine (1971) described the basic stages of process-product studies "1) development of procedures for describing teaching in a quantitative manner; 2) correlation studies in which the descriptive variables are related to measures of student growth; and 3) experimental studies in which the significant variables obtained in the correlational studies are tested in more controlled situations." According to Rosenshine, the sequence of these stages is not fixed. In order to avoid making cause-effect inferences where they do not exist, Rosenshine and Furst (1973) speak of the "descriptive-correlational-experimental loop."

Recent process-product studies have demonstrated that teacher classroom behaviors do have an impact on student behavior. (See Rosenshine, 1971; Rosenshine & Furst, 1973; Flanders, 1970; Stallings & Kaskowitz, 1974; Good, Biddle & Brophy, 1975; Harnischfeger and Wiley, 1976; Bennett, 1976; Brophy & Evertson, 1976, Berliner & Rosenshine, 1976; Brophy & Evertson, 1977; Stallings, 1977; Borich, 1977; Soar, 1977, Mc Connel, 1977; Mc Donald, 1977; Gage, 1978; Rosenshine & Berliner, 1978; Evertson, Anderson & Brophy, 1978; Rosenshine, 1979; Good & Grouws, 1979; Peterson, 1979; Stallings, Needels & Stayrook, 1979; Brophy & Putnam, 1979; Heath & Nielson, 1974; Doyle, 1977; Hoge & Luce, 1979; Shavelson & Dempsey, 1976 and

Fenstermacher, 1978).

A review of findings from the studies cited above reveals many teaching methods and behaviors that consistently correlate with student achievement. Teacher questioning, whole class instruction (as opposed to small group instruction), praise, flexibility, control and structuring, teacher/pupil interaction, teacher affect, pupil engagement, student-initiated questions, clarity, attention getting, feedback, time on task, indirect instruction and teacher acceptance of student ideas have all been found to relate positively to student achievement. Generalization from teacher effectiveness research has remained indeterminate. No "rules" of teacher behavior could be developed. Results of studies, however, have provided classroom teachers with sets of guidelines for understanding particular situations and contexts and have assisted supervisors in helping teachers assess their effectiveness.

Process-product research has advanced the previous research that looked for teacher characteristics and behaviors, assumed to be "good." Process-product studies have been able to identify processes that relate to student achievement. Supervisors, however, were still telling teachers what processes to use.

This researcher recently undertook an examination of sixty five rating scales with a total of 950 evaluative items which revealed that in spite of process-product research findings, few of the conclusions have as yet filtered down to practical use in supervision. The observation and/or rating is still focused on the person (teacher) and on the teaching process as a basis for assessment of the classroom situation.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE - SUPERVISORY EMPHASIS ON PRODUCT

Whereas research on teacher effectiveness looked at process-product, supervision as a practice has still been primarily concerned with the person (producer)-process.

New theories of supervision have adapted the process-product paradigm. In using this paradigm, there seems to be little disagreement that the ultimate goal (product) of supervision is student growth (Sergiovanni & Starrat, 1971; Eye, Netzer & Krey, 1971; Mosher & Purpel, 1972; Marks, Stoops & King-Stoops, 1978; Lucio & McNeil, 1979; Neagley & Evans, 1980). In fact, a review of current theories and texts on supervision indicates that the pupil is viewed only indirectly as the product of supervision. The product of supervision is generally assumed to be the teacher (Eye & Netzer, 1971; Sergiovanni & Starratt, 1971; Mosher & Purpel, 1972; Oliva, 1976; Mark, Stoops & King-Stoops, 1978; Neagley & Evans, 1980). The modification of the teaching process on the basis of student behavior leads to the ultimate product, the pupil. To make the pupil the direct product of supervision, it is proposed that the supervisor look at student behavior to help the teacher assess the product as a basis for modifying the process. On the premise that the goal of supervision is student growth, it is possible to make the proposition that the product of supervision is, in fact, the pupil.

Since the early 1950's, researchers have proposed that supervision should focus on the pupil and should emphasize student behavior as evidence of student learning.

The AERA Committee on Criteria for Teacher Effectiveness (1952) stated, "Effects on pupils have long been accepted as relevant criterion dimensions of teacher effectiveness: pupil growth, change, gain, development, learning, and the like, have often been denoted as the ultimate criteria of teacher effectiveness." (p. 244) ... When we know what kinds of behaviors by teachers produce what kinds of effects on pupils, we have a basis for handling a host of problems at which teacher selection, training, supervision and evaluation programs are aimed." (p. 250).

Biddle & Ellena (1964) began to think in terms of focusing on the pupil by saying, "if teacher effectiveness is assumed to be bound by context and situation, it is also reasonable to assume that pupil response is unique to these conditions...To date, little attention has been paid to many varieties of pupil behavior observable in response to teacher behavior." (p. 14) (underlining mine)

"If classroom observation is more directly concerned with the learning of students than the performance of the teacher, more beneficial results are likely...Therefore, the supervisor must analyze the teacher's performance mainly as it influences the learning of students" (McKean & Mills, 1967, p. 82).

"The focal point of supervision is the problems of learning encountered by the child in the classroom, rather than criticism of the teacher's methods" (Snyder & Peterson, 1970, p. 127).

Mc Neil & Popham (1973, p. 218) state, "A focus on pupils reveals far more about the effectiveness of teachers than does direct study of teachers themselves."

While the above researchers have proposed that supervision should focus on the pupils, others have proposed that supervision should focus on the total teaching-learning situation.

"Instead of focusing its attention directly on the teacher, it (supervision) concerns itself with the improvement of the total teaching-learning situation" (Elsbree, McNally & Wynn, 1967, p. 143).

Mark, Stoops & King-Stoops (1971) state, "supervisory visits should focus on all elements of the teaching-learning situation, not merely the teacher." (p. 212)

Lucio & Mc Neil (1979) said, "teachers whose attentions are directed to defining goals, to determining changes learners are to exhibit, and to appraising their teaching in terms of results will be more attuned to the central purposes of instruction." (p. 251)

Teacher behavior and student behavior enter into the teaching-learning situation. They are affected by each other and they both affect results. In fact, supervision does, and should, concern itself with both the pupils and the teacher. The expression of the above authors, while showing a concern for both the teacher and the pupils, varies the emphasis, the emphasis on the pupil or the emphasis on the total learning situation. The concern about the pupils as the product of supervision expressed by the ultimate goal of supervision has not been brought formally into the supervisory process.

It appears that most supervisors believe that they can rate the classroom situation by looking at the teacher and teaching process (from an analysis of report forms performed by the researcher). Any rating that does not include some reference to the behavior of the pupils is more a rating of the teacher than the classroom situation and is taking a narrow view of classroom happenings.

Bringing the proposed focus on the product, that is, the pupil, formally into the supervisory process encourages supervision to take a wide view of looking at the total classroom situation.

Without looking at pupils, it is not possible to rate the classroom situation. Given the continued wide use of rating scales, it could be proposed that observation of pupils could be made part of the rating form as a way to bring it into the supervisory process. By including on an observation report items dealing directly with pupils as a basis for assessment, it is possible to take the wide view of the total classroom situation instead of the narrower view of only the teacher and the teaching process.

The purpose of education is, or should be, student achievement. By looking at the response of pupils, a teacher does learn to modify his behavior and methods to effect positive change.

One type of research has shown that measures of student classroom behavior are positively associated with learning outcomes (Perkins, 1965; Lahaderne, 1968; Spaulding & Papageorgiou, 1972; Cobb, 1972; Samuels & Turnure, 1974; McKinney, Mason & Clifford, 1975; Soli & Devine, 1976; Hall, Huppertz & Levi, 1977; Anderson & Scott, 1978). The categories of behavior that consistently appeared to be related to specific aspects of achievement were: time attending, positive peer interactions, compliance and self stimulation. Under-achievers were most commonly found to be those pupils who were distracted (engaged in non-academic work), passive, dependent and frequently withdrawn.

Another category of research finds that student classroom behavior can be modified by the teacher to improve learning outcomes. (Cobb & Hops, 1973; Spaulding & Showers, 1974; Wang, 1976; Rowe, 1971; Peterson & Clark, 1978; Berliner, Filby, Marliave & Weir, 1980). This intervention skill can be learned.

Another thrust of research shows that teacher-pupil interaction reflecting level of cognitive activity relate positively to measures of academic performance (Kounin, 1970; Good, 1970; Lahaderne & Jackson, 1970; Brophy & Good, 1970; Garner & Bing, 1973; Good, Sikes & Brophy, 1973; Firestone & Brodey, 1975; Weinstein, 1976; Luce & Hoge, 1978).

Although findings from various studies are at times confusing and sometimes conflicting, there is enough consistency to provide a basis for guiding teachers. The instructional supervisor could help the teacher to apply what research has tested and what experience has shown to be effective.

"If teaching is examined in terms of results, of the changes a teacher predicts he can effect in learners, teaching competence can be evaluated in a framework more appropriate to the teaching task" (Lucio & McNeil, 1969, p. 242). No set of teaching behaviors is universally effective, and teachers cannot rely on prescriptions to dictate their behavior, but they can assess the appropriateness of their behavior with regard to how it affects student performance. When the teacher learns to "read the students," he will be in a better position to react to and interact with the students more positively.

The supervisor can re-enforce this in the supervisory interview by stressing what was happening to the pupils, instead of concentrating on what the teacher was doing.

To specifically direct the supervisor's attention to pupils during classroom observation, pupil behavior can be observed and that will direct the teacher to experiment and adapt teaching to activate student attention. When the teacher is able to look for responses to this teaching, he may become as concerned with effects (results of the instructional process) as with effectiveness (the process itself).

Hence, this type of supervisory program then considers both pupil behavior and attitude and teaching behavior and methods but instead of moving from the teacher to the student, we are moving from the pupil back to the teacher.

RATIONALE

A study to test the use of video tape films in student teacher training was conducted by Burns (1978). For the study, a Supervisory Report form was developed that included items describing teacher behaviors, qualities and characteristics and items describing pupil behavior and attitudes. Twenty-minute video tapes of classrooms in action were developed and produced. These tapes were filmed with a directed focus. Two cameras were used during each taping session. One camera was focused on the teacher exclusively, the other on pupils exclusively. Segments from both tapes, showing either the pupil focus or the teacher focus, were edited onto one twenty minute esting tape.

The edited version of the classroom sessions "retained a larger portion of student behavior focus to give users the opportunity to carefully observe pupil behaviors, and particularly, to give the teacher trainees the 'feel' of the teacher's view of the class prior to actually taking over that position" (Ibid. p. 12).

When asked for reactions to the possible value of such films for future teacher trainees, student teachers tested overwhelmingly agreed that such directed-focus films would be useful to view before going out on their first student teaching experience and itwould be useful to view films of both "good" and "poor" teaching, that is to see teaching-learning situations "as they are."

To test the proposition that perceptions of teaching effectiveness would differ depending on where the observer's attention was directed --- toward the teacher or toward the pupils, the student teachers were divided into five groups. All groups of student teachers viewed the same two, twenty-minute video tapes. Three groups were given all or part of the Supervisory Report Form developed and asked to rate the classroom situation. Group 1 was given a form containing both teacher and pupil items, Group 2 a form containing teacher-only items, and Group 3 a form containing pupil-only items. Group 4 was given an open form with no specific items and Group 5 was asked only to comment on the usefulness of such films for future teacher trainees.

Results of this test indicated that the perceived quality of the classroom situation differed across the two films and that the perception of quality interacted with focus to affect ratings. The poorer the classroom situation was perceived, the lower the ratings were and the greater the variation in ratings. When the classroom was perceived as being poor, the teacher was rated higher then when the classroom was perceived as being good.

Burns suggested further study to test more carefully the effect of "directed attention," that is, teacher focus versus pupil focus.

The proposed study will test questions arising from the Burns' study under more controlled conditions. Supervising principals and teachers will come from a self-selected sample from a randomly selected population, schools throughout Canada and the United States. Student teachers will be randomly selected from at least two teacher training universities in Canada and the United States. Hence, respondents will not only be from a wider geographic area but from three levels of the educational system (principals, teachers, and student teachers). The respondents of the Burns' study viewed both teacher focus and pupil focus in each of the twenty-minute videotapes. Attention was directed to either the teacher or the pupils by the rating form. In the proposed study, attention of the experimental groups will be directed by the film segment itself by the focus of the camera in each segment. The study will endeavor to answer the same question concerning the focus of attention by a more controlled method.

In order to determine the different approaches taken to supervision of inservice teachers in practice, a survey was performed by the researcher. Most of the respondents to the survey indicated that they had a systematic program of supervision of instruction. Most of these programs closely followed Cogan's (1973) description of clinical supervision. This included a pre-observation conference (for planning), classroom observation and a post-observation conference (for evaluation). The principal data collected during observation included records of what the teacher and student did during the teaching-learning process.

The main purpose of supervision, as indicated by the survey, was stated to be the improvement of instruction, or, as more widely seen, the improvement of the teaching-learning situation. Four criteria have been used in varying degrees and times in effectiveness of teaching literature. They are:

Person - teacher characteristics

> Measurement approach: teacher attitudes, personality, variability, values, preferences, interests and favored activities.

Process - teaching styles and methodology

> Measurement approach: observation and assessment of teaching behavior in process

Program - instructional plan

> Measurement approach: role as educational group member

Product - student behavior in classroom situation

> Measurement approach: observation and assessment of student behavior during exposure to teacher

The criteria that can be used to assess instruction, then, could be stated as Person, Process, Program, and Product.

There appears to be a wide gap between what responding educators agree to be the potential purpose of supervision and actual practice.

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The supervisory report forms were variously labelled and their purposes were multi-faceted. Some labels implied only evaluation or assessment, while others proposed only to review or observe.

An analysis of the evaluative items found on the Supervisory Forms showed that the focus was directed to the teaching process and the teacher, there was very little focus on the program (5% of total evaluative items listed) or its product, the pupil (3% of total evaluative items listed). The percent of institutions having items oriented toward program or product evaluation in the Supervisory Reports forms was 37% and 22% respectively. The average percent of items per institution oriented toward Program evaluation (within institutions having specific reference) was found to be 12% and the average percent of items per institution oriented toward Product evaluation (within institutions having specific reference) was found to be 16%.

TABLE 1

	Person	Process	Program	Product	Overall	Total
Number of Evaluative Items Oriented Toward:	310	530	43	31	36	950
% of total items	32%	56%	5%	3%	4%	100%
# of Institutions with items oriented toward:	50	55	24	14	27	*65
% of Institutions having items oriented toward:	77%	85%	37%	22%	42%	*
Average % of items per institution oriented toward: (within institutions having specific reference)	36%	57%	12%	16%	32%	

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* Totals do not add up to 65 or 100% because some institutions have forms that contain items oriented toward more than one category.

The number of institutions asking for a judgment on the Person was 50 (77% of all institutions surveyed). For these fifty institutions, the average percent of questions regarding the Person was 36%.

Fifty five institutions asked for a judgment on the Process (85% of all institutions surveyed). For these institutions, the average percent of questions regarding the Process was 57%.

Twenty four institutions asked for judgments on the Program (37% of all institutions surveyed). For these institutions, the average percent of questions regarding the Program was 12%.

Only fourteen institutions asked for judgments on the Product (22% of all institutions surveyed). For these institutions, the average percent of questions regarding the Product was 16%.

It can be concluded from this examination of actual rating forms that as a basis for rating or observing the classroom situation most institutions are primarily concerned with the Person and the Process. The greatest proportion of all rating forms was focused on the Person and Process. Far fewer schools included any request for judgments about the Program and the Product. The relative emphasis, even in those institutions was slight.

This would further suggest that a larger portion of the supervisory conferences and discussion could be expected to be toward teacher training than toward the results of teaching.

While the optimum or potential outcome of supervision has been proposed to be the improvement of the teaching-learning situation through the assessment of instruction, the criteria used in practice in this assessment take into account only part of the total instructional program.

There seems to be a tendency for detailed measurement on the input of the person and the teaching process to detract attention from those aspects that may be no less important, although less easily quantifiable, that is, the product and the program. When focusing on the teaching-learning situation to assess the instructional program, it seems logical to look at all the components of the program that are relevant to the purpose of the measurement, that is the teacher/teaching process, the pupil behavior and aspects of the program itself and relate this total process to the overall product of the school, that is the pupil.

To reconcile the stated purpose of supervision with the practice of supervision, it is proposed that the criteria that should be used are those that use measures to assess results of the instructional process, not merely the process itself. Although it is not possible to evaluate academic gain in one lesson, it is possible to observe what is happening and make an assessment of the classroom situation. If the supervisor can see students favorably interacting with the teacher and peers, complying with the task, initiating questions and work and not day-dreaming, not distracting peers, not talking about non-academic matters, not being out of seat and not negatively interacting with teacher and peers, this is a good indication that learning is very probably taking place as evidenced by student behavior. It is proposed that product criteria that measure change in student behavior and the relationship of patterns of this behavior to achievement should be the first step in the assessment of the effectiveness of the instructional program.

DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

The purpose of the study will be to develop and test an interaction based supervision model.

This study will examine the effects of two supervisory focuses on the rating of the classroom situation, that is, the teacher/teaching process or the student behavior. Subjects will be asked to observe videotapes of the teacher teaching a session, versus observing tapes of students reacting to the classroom situation. Each segment of a classroom situation selected to be viewed is of approximately six minutes.

SOURCE AND DEVELOPMENT OF TAPES

A set of video tapes of actual teaching-learning sessions in the classrooms of experienced teachers was made by students in a Masters course in Educational Administration, Practicum in Supervision of Instruction - Mc Gill University.

Two cameras were used in every taping session, one focused continuously on the teacher and one on the pupils. Two hours of focused or "raw" tape were obtained for each one hour class session.

Segments selected. While the literature and general policy statements speak of observers spending extended visits with each teacher, principals who observe commonly spend very short periods of time, generally only a few minutes (Wolcott, 1973; Isherwood, 1975; Peterson, 1977).

There is no research evidence of the length of observation. The only indication of more extended observation could be taken from some use of such observation procedures as Flanders Interaction Analysis.

However, the necessity of spending extended time collecting data in the classroom precludes frequent use and most schools can not implement such systems because of time constraints.

Common discussion among teachers and principals leads one to believe the period of direct observation prior to rating is brief and spasmodic.

The Survey done by the researcher found in all descriptions of supervisory programs that only two school districts stated a minimum length of time per observation. This could indicate that they felt the need to set a minimum time for observation to assure that visits were not too brief.

Hosford & Neuenfeldt (1979) found that "evidence supports the hypothesis that objectively gained judgments obtained via the videotape procedures will correlate with those judgments being rendered in the field and in teacher preparation programs."

Six-minute segments were selected from raw tapes isolating the teacher focus and pupil focus from six different classrooms. To establish validity of the testing tapes, it is planned to select a panel of experts to view and rate the segments. This panel will be asked to identify the criteria they used to rate the classroom situations. The segments will be ranked as to relative effectiveness (high, medium, or low).

Hosford & Neuenfeldt (1979) concluded after reviewing several studies that "evidence indicates the four-minute videotape segments may provide the best, most practical diagnostic tool available to supervisors in both preservice and inservice programs." Six minute segments were given preference in this study to assure that ample time was given to direct the focus of observation.

SOURCE OF POPULATION

Participants of the study will be selected from three groups: supervising principals, teachers, and student teachers. These three groups were selected because of the role they now occupy in the educational system. It is assumed that there will be differences in classroom experience which may be reflected in differences in perceptions of classroom situations.

Four hundred schools randomly selected across Canada and the United States will be asked to participate in the study. Sixty schools will be randomly selected from the respondent volunteers to receive material to enable the supervising principals and teachers to participate.

Student teachers will be randomly selected from undergraduates in the Education Department at McGill University and a nearby teacher training university in the United States.

SAMPLING

Respondents (Superintendents of Schools randomly selected throughout Canada and the United States) will be contacted by letter requesting their participation in this study.

Sixty respondents who indicate willingness to administer the test will be randomly selected and sent a packet containing instructions, videotape, rating forms, and Information Sheet (See Appendix B). The respondents will be randomly assigned to the three treatments, that is Tape #1, Tape #2 or Tape #3.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS TO BE INVESTIGATED BY THIS STUDY

Results of the Survey indicate that the focus of the observation in supervision has been directed to the teacher or the teaching process (teaching behaviors and methods) by means of rating scales or supervisory forms used. It is reasonable to think that the rating of the total classroom situation may differ depending on whether the observer focuses on the teacher for evidence of "teaching skill" or on the pupil behavior for evidence of learning.

QUESTION #1 Will rating of the classroom situation differ depending on the focus of the observer's attention, on teacher or on pupils?

Expert judges will be asked to rate the relative effectiveness of the six classroom situations included in the study.

In the study by Burns, the focus more significantly affected the rating when the classroom situation was seen generally to be poor than when generally seen to be good.

QUESTION #2 To what degree will the relative effectiveness of the classroom (as judged by experts) affect the ratings?

It is also reasonable to think that the role the observers occupy may affect their perception of the effectiveness of the classroom situation. Student teachers have not had as much classroom experience as teachers. Teachers have not had as broad experience in many classroom situations as have supervising principals.

There is no indication in the literature to suggest whether student teachers, teachers or principals do rate situations more or less favorably.

QUESTION #3 Will the role of the rater (student teacher, teacher or supervising principal) differentially affect the rating of the classroom situation?

This study will test the following hypotheses:

Hypothesis 1 - Perceptions of the classroom situation will differ depending on where the observer's attention is directed, toward the teacher or toward the pupils.

Hypothesis 2 - Perceptions of the classroom situation will differ depending on the relative effectiveness of the classroom (as judged by expert judges).

DESIGN OF THE STUDY

A Complete Factorial Repeated Measures design is used, with subject categorized to A and B and repeated measures on C, that is, S(A x B) x C. The three independent variables are: Observer (A) - with three levels, Focus (B) - with three levels, and Effectiveness of Class (C) - with three levels (High, Medium, Low). This is a 3 x 3 x 3 design, or it contains nine cells.

Using the six segments, three video tapes were edited and produced for testing.

Tape #1 - shows the segments from the six different classroom situations (all different classes), alternating teacher focus and pupil focus.

Tape #2 - shows the same six segments in the same order with the opposite focus.

Tape #3 - shows the same six segments in the same order with both teacher and pupil focuses.

Class	Tape 1	Tape 2	Tape 3
Classroom #1	Teacher focus	Pupil focus	Both focuses
Classroom #2	Pupil focus	Teacher focus	Both focuses
Classroom #3	Teacher focus	Pupil focus	Both focuses
Classroom #4	Pupil focus	Teacher focus	Both focuses
Classroom #5	Teacher focus	Pupil focus	Both focuses
Classroom #6	Pupil focus	Teacher focus	Both focuses

OPERATION OF STUDY

Supervising principals, teachers and student teachers will be randomly assigned to view either Tape #1, #2, or #3. After viewing each segment, they will be asked to rate the learning situation on a 10-point scale. (See Appendix A)

TREATMENT

		Group 1 (Tape #1)	Group 2 (Tape #2)	Group 3 (Tape #3)
OBSERVERS	Supervising Principals			
	Teachers			
	Student Teachers			

Group 1 and Group 2 will observe only one focus from any one classroom situation. Group 3 will view both focuses in all six classrooms.

ANALYSIS OF DATA

Three-way analysis of variance with interactions will be performed to test the differences between focus, role and class between groups. The degree of difference will be considered significant at the .05 level.

IMPLICATION OF THE RESEARCH FOR POLICY-MAKERS AND/OR SCHOOL PRACTITIONERS

DEVELOPMENT OF A SUPERVISORY MODEL

There are many models of teacher effectiveness as summarized by Gage (1972) in his chapter entitled "Substantative Paradigms" where he describes various models, including a comprehensive model devised by Mitzel (1957). Mitzel identified four types of variables necessary to consider in investigating teacher effectiveness, that is Type I - human characteristics of teachers, Type II - contingency factors (environmental and pupil characteristics), Type III - classroom behaviors of teachers and pupils and Type IV - criterion (measurable outcomes at the end of a period of instruction). Mitzel felt the best approach to teacher effectiveness was by way of Type III variables. Acceptance of this approach has been reflected in the proliferation of research that followed using the process-product model that is, teaching process-product, teacher-pupil interaction process - product, and student process-product.

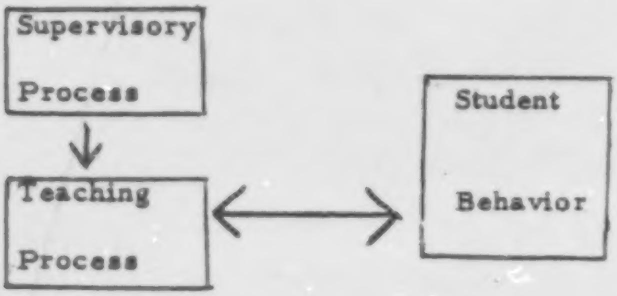
There are also many models of school learning. Researchers have attempted to select factors that affect student learning inside and outside the school. For example, task orientation, or work activity of the student, is given a central role in determining eventual student achievement in models by Carroll (1963), Bloom (1974) and Wiley and Harnischfeger (1974).

The following model is not a teacher effectiveness model and is not a student learning model that leave out the supervisor.

TRADITIONAL SUPERVISORY MODEL

Traditionally, programs of supervision have recognized the interactive nature of the teaching-learning process. The focus of such programs, however, has often been limited to observation of teaching style and methodology.

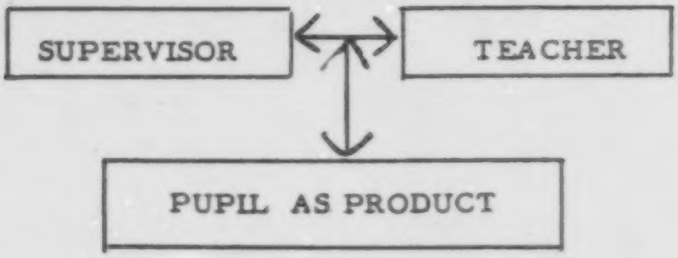
Traditional Supervisory Model



PROPOSED SUPERVISORY MODEL

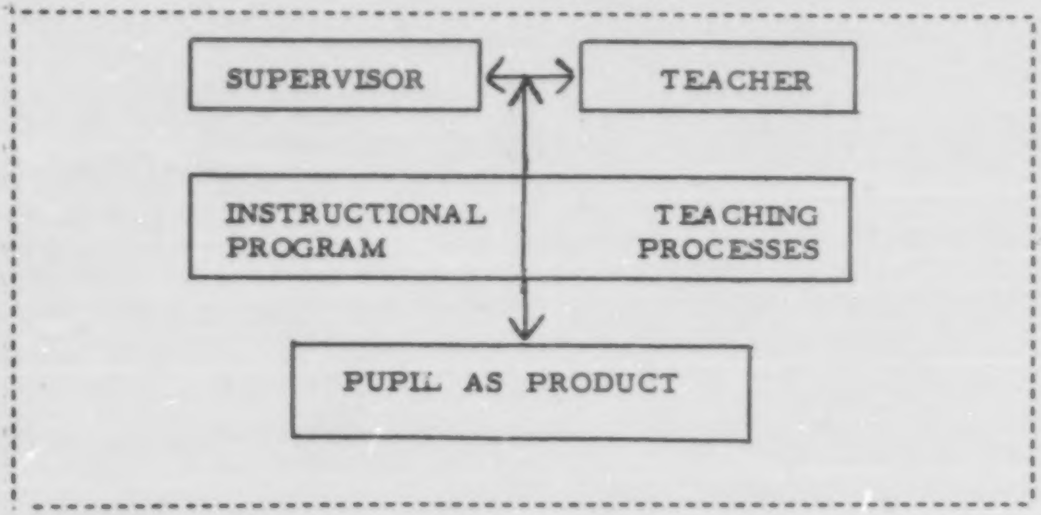
It is proposed in the present study that the focus of supervision should be equally on teaching style and methodology, and on student behavior as evidence of student learning. The proposed model emphasizes that the product of the supervisory process and the teaching process is the pupil behavior in the classroom situation.

Proposed Supervisory Model


SUPERVISOR
TEACHER
PUPIL AS PRODUCT

The proposed supervisory model displays a supervisor-teacher relationship as that of colleagues who are both equally concerned with the product of the instructional program, that is student behavior in the classroom. Focus of observation and discourse can begain and end with the pupils.

Proposed Supervisory Model - Complete


SUPERVISOR
TEACHER
INSTRUCTIONAL PROGRAM
TEACHING PROCESSES
PUPIL AS PRODUCT

The complete proposed supervisory model looks at all the components of the program that are relevant sources of effects on pupils (teacher/ teaching processes, pupil behavior and aspects of the program itself) on which instruction may be assessed.

Effects on pupils may be modified by the teaching process. Focus on the pupil proposes that if teachers recognize and assess the significance of pupil behavior they will adapt their style and methods (process) to elicit desired behavior from the students and repeat or develop behaviors which will increase the probability of this desired pupil behavior.

Effects on ~~pupils~~ may also be modified by the program. Focus on pupils proposes that if teachers recognize the significance of pupil behavior they can assess how they are functioning in their leadership role and how they can concomitantly meet their objectives and the goals of the instructional plan.

It appears, however, that the greatest impact on student effects would be on the modification of the teaching process.

Bringing the proposed focus on the product formally into the supervisory process has wider implications than merely changing evaluative items on the supervisory report form. Pupil behavior as the product would become the focal point in planning classroom observation, in collecting data in the classroom and in the post-observation conference.

This arrangement would more easily lend itself to cooperative collaborations between the teacher and the supervisor and remove the anxiety and threat caused by the superior-subordinate relationship presently perceived.

It is further proposed that the widened focus would also be reflected in all supervisory activities, inside and outside the classroom, including the curriculum development, selection of resources and materials, plan and evaluation of the total instructional program, public relations, and research.

"APPENDIX A"

Classroom in Action
Testing Tape #____

RATING OF A CLASSROOM SITUATION

Six short classroom incidents are presented on the video tape.

The student groups you will see are the following:

1. Poetry -- Grade 5
2. Creative Writing -- Grade 7
3. Math lesson -- Grade 5
4. Drama -- Grade 4
5. Individualized math -- Grade 7
6. Geography -- Grade 9

(All average to good academic level).

Use the scale 1 - 10

1 - 2 very poor classroom situation
3 - 4 poor classroom situation
5 - 6 average classroom situation
7 - 8 good classroom situation
9 - 10 very good classroom situation

Situation 1	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Situation 2	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Situation 3	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Situation 4	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Situation 5	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Situation 6	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Comments:

INFORMATION SHEET

Please complete this form by filling in blanks.

1. Present position

Teacher	_____ Elementary
	_____ Secondary
Student Teacher	_____ Elementary
	_____ Secondary
Supervising Principal	_____ Elementary
	_____ Secondary

2. Years of experience as of the end of the 1980-81 academic year.

	Teacher	Supervising Principal
2 years or less	_____	_____
3 - 5 years	_____	_____
over 5 years	_____	_____

3. Education

Highest degree earned? ______________________________

4. Sex

_____ Female

_____ Male

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Decentralized Budgeting and the Rural Saskatchewan Principal

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Decentralized Budgeting and the Rural Saskatchewan Principal

Decentralized or school-based budgeting is a growing practice in the school systems of Saskatchewan. In the 1960's the allocation of budgets to individual schools and the delegation of authority to principals for the utilization of these budgets were rarely done. Beginning in the late sixties and continuing to the present, however, more and more school boards have adopted policies that grant to the principal and the staff the responsibility and discretion to expend certain budget appropriations relating to the program of the school.

Such policies represent an important departure from past practice where decisions for any expenditures relating to a school were usually made by central office administrators or by the school board itself. Principals, if they wanted anything for their school that involved an expenditure of money, usually had to requisition the item or the service, and then wait for central office or board approval. A feeling of frustration often prevailed because the principal never knew for certain whether a request would be approved, and because he or she was never sure how much could be requested in any given year. Adding to the frustrations were the inevitable shows of favouritism, the filling of orders with inappropriate, cheaper or unusable items, and the receiving of supplies that were not even ordered (some salesman was able to give the school system a good bargain).

No doubt the frustration of principals over centralized control of school-based expenditures and the demand by principals for some say over what resources a school needed in meeting the needs of students have been instrumental in the adoption of decentralized budgeting in Saskatchewan. Other factors have also contributed to this move, including the increasing professionalization of the Saskatchewan principal, the current advocacy in educational literature of subsidiarity and decentralization of control in school governance and administrators, and the adoption of school-based budgeting elsewhere in Canada. Caldwell and Hodgson (1978, p.1) have noted that decentralization within school systems is an international phenomenon, so what is happening in Saskatchewan appears to be part of a much larger picture.

In 1980, Rigby (1981) conducted a study of the nature and extent of decentralized budgeting in Saskatchewan's sixty larger rural school divisions, and of the principals satisfaction and preferences with respect to decentralization.[1] Specifically the study was designed to gather information on how extensively budget decentralization had been implemented, on the type of budget line items that were decentralized, on the kinds of formulas that were used to allocate budgets to schools, on whether these allocations were of a global or categorical nature, and on the procedures principals used to allocate school-based funds within their schools.

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[1] Rigby conducted the study as a thesis research project under the chairmanship of the writer.

Information was also sought on principals' satisfaction and preferences with respect to school-based budgeting. The relationship of school size and the grade level of the school to the other variables was examined.

The population for Rigby's study consisted of the principals of all schools in the sixty larger rural school divisions in Saskatchewan. The rural school divisions enrolled approximately half of the students in the province. Urban school divisions were not included in the study. The data were gathered by means of a mailed questionnaire which was sent in May of 1980 to a deliberately selected stratified sample of 240 principals. The stratification was along the lines of (1) elementary principals, (2) secondary principals, and (3) principals of combined elementary-secondary schools. Seventy-five per cent or 179 of the questionnaires were returned. The data were analysed by examining frequency distributions of responses and by using chi squares to determine if statistically significant differences existed in the patterns of responses when they were classified according to various factors including school size, grade level of school, and degree of decentralization.

Selected Findings

Extent of School-Based Budgeting

For each expenditure category that might have been centralized to the school (for example, library books, audio-visual aids, building repair and maintenance), the principals were required to indicate whether there was complete, moderate, or low or no degree of decentralization.

Little or no decentralization was defined to mean that no budget was allocated to the school and that the school division office retained the authority to confirm, modify, or reject orders, or to initiate unilaterally orders for materials and services on behalf of the school. Moderate decentralization meant that funds were allocated to be spent at the principals' discretion, but that purchases were subject to scrutiny and question by central office personnel. Complete decentralization meant that the principal had complete discretion over the use of school-based funds, and that there was rarely any questioning by central office of the validity of orders.

The principal's indications of degrees of decentralization were used as weights to quantify the degree of budget decentralization for each object of expenditure, and the aggregation of these weights for all items yielded a decentralization index for each school. The school indexes revealed that 7% of the schools had no decentralized budget whatsoever, and that for the remainder of the schools the degree of centralization could be described as low for 30%, moderate for 47%, and high for 16%.

The relationship of degree of decentralization, that is, the school index, to size and grade level of school was also investigated, on the assumption that greater decentralization might exist if schools were bigger or if they had higher grade levels. The chi square results showed that degrees of decentralization were not significantly associated with either school size or with grade levels. All schools, elementary, secondary, and combined elemen[illegible]y-secondary, regardless of size were subject to the similar degrees of decentralization.

Types of Budget Items Decentralized

Although budget decentralization was extensively used in Saskatchewan rural divisional schools, the study revealed that the practice was limited to particular items of expenditure that represented only about 5% of a school division's total budget. These items may be described in general terms as instructional materials and supplies. The six items for which the greatest degree of decentralized budgeting existed were library books, school office supplies, physical education supplies, classroom supplies, audio-visual software, and academic supplies. Expenditures on textbooks and equipment were more subject to central office scrutiny than were the previously mentioned six items. The least degree of decentralized budgeting was found for repair and maintenance of school furniture, office equipment, professional development, utilities, and building repair and maintenance. No decentralized budget for professional or other school personnel was reported by any of the 179 principals in the sample.

Global vs. Categorical Allocations

Principals were asked to indicate whether the budgets allocated to their schools were of the global or categorical type. Global allocations cover a broader, less specified range of expenditure categories and permit the principal to transfer funds among various objects of expenditure. Categorical allocations are funds earmarked for specific purposes, like library books or professional development, and cannot be spent for other purposes.

The majority of decentralized school budgets (58%) were found to be of the categorical type. Only 26% of the principals reported having global budgets. The remaining principals categorized their budgets as mixed, that is, containing both categorical and global funds. Those principals who had categorical budgets were requested to indicate what degree of freedom existed in transferring funds from one category to another. The majority (53%) stated that transfers were not allowed, a further 36% stated that transfers were controlled by central office staff, and the remaining 11% reported having a considerable degree of discretion in reallocating funds.

No significant differences were found among schools of different sizes and grade levels with respect to whether school-based budgets were categorical or global.

Kinds of Allocation Formulas

The study revealed that almost all (94%) school-based budgets of the global type were allocated to schools according to a per-pupil allowance formula. In only ten instances were program offerings used as a criterion to determine budgets either in whole or in part.

The per-pupil grant was also the predominant method of determining categorical funds. However, with categorical funding more recognition was given to program requirements, especially with respect to guidance and testing, staff professional development, special education equipment, and chartered conveyance. The following percentages indicate the frequency of use of the five most mentioned methods of categorical allocations: (1) amount per pupil - 65%, (2) amount per program - 12%, (3) basic amount per school plus amount per student - 10%, (4) amount per classroom - 6%, and (5) amount per teacher - 3%.

Procedures for Internal Allocation

Principals were asked to describe what procedures they used to decide how to spend funds allotted to the school. The most frequently used procedure (48% of the time) was to have school administrators (principals, department heads, etc.) make the decisions after consultation with the staff. In another 44% of the cases, principals said that budget decisions were made after the staff had compiled a list of priorities which reflected the needs of the whole school. Another procedure, used 26% of the time, was to have some of the funds divided equitably among teachers and/or department heads who were allowed to spend them as they saw fit. Finally, 17% of the principals stated that budget expenditures were made according to a long-range plan which had been drawn up by the school staff.

Several other findings related to internal allocation procedures were found to be statistically significant. Secondary principals used consultation with staff more frequently than elementary and combined elementary-secondary school principals in deciding on budgetary expenditures. Principals of smaller schools (under 400) used priority lists more frequently than principals of schools with over 400 enrolment. Also, principals with global budgets consulted with staff more often than principals with categorical budgets.

Some Findings on Principals' Satisfaction and Preferences

Satisfaction with Degree of Centralization

All principals were asked to indicate whether they were satisfied with the degree of budget decentralization which they had or whether they preferred more or less decentralization. The majority of the principals (57%) were satisfied with the status quo, 42% would have preferred more decentralization and, only 1% would have preferred less. Neither grade level nor size of school made any difference in satisfaction or preference.

Principals were then differentiated into three groups according to their school decentralization index and in this analysis a significant difference was found. The preference for more decentralization was expressed more often by principals whose school decentralization scores were low or moderately low. Principals whose schools had high indexes were more satisfied with what decentralization they had, and expressed less often a desire for change.

Satisfaction with Decentralized Personnel Budgets

The study uncovered no instance of a school division allocating to a principal budgetary appropriations for the hiring of professional, paraprofessional, or non-professional staff. The vast majority of principals (72%) indicated that this practice was in keeping with their preferences, whereas 26% indicated that they would have preferred some responsibility for personnel budgets. Significantly more principals who expressed a desire for more responsibility were from schools with low decentralization indexes. Principals with high decentralization indexes were less desirous of adding personnel funds to their budgets. Neither grade level nor size of school were significant related variables.

Satisfaction with Categorical vs. Global Budgets

Forty-eight per cent of the principals surveyed were satisfied with the type of budget allocations which they had, whether they were global or categorical. Thirty-eight per cent would have preferred a change to the global type, and 6% preferred a change to the categorical type. Again grade level and school size were not factors affecting satisfaction or preference.

Where change was desired, it was towards global allocations. This preference was expressed significantly more often by principals whose schools had low decentralization indexes. Not only was more decentralization of school budgets desired, but also the global type of allocation was preferred. Principals with high decentralization indexes expressed less often a desire for change either to global or to categorical allocations.

Summary and Discussion

Rigby drew a number of conclusions from his survey of school-based budgeting in the rural school divisions of Saskatchewan. Principals generally favoured school-based budgets. Although most reported that their budgets were of the categorical type, they preferred global allocations. Budget items decentralized were mainly those relating to instructional supplies, materials, and equipment. Personnel items were not decentralized and principals did not seem to desire that their responsibilities and authority be extended to cover this area of expenditure. The per-pupil allocation was the most common method used to determine the amount of budget to be allotted to schools. The boards of rural school divisions adopted decentralization policies that were uniform throughout the school system in that all schools regardless of size or grade level were treated in the same way. Also, aside from the basis per-pupil formula for determining school funds, very little provision was made for other monies to recognize special local needs and problems.

Drawing both on the results of his study and on pertinent literature, Rigby made some important observations on the implementation of school-based budgeting. He noted that it was often the principals' group within a school system that convinced the board of education to implement decentralized budgeting. This group was at the same time influential in drawing up the policy itself, and the policy tended to be uniform across all schools in the system regardless of size or grade level. Successful implementation of decentralized budgeting was more assured if the initiative came from the schools. Other ingredients of success included the willingness of the board of education and central office staff to decentralize some authority and to tolerate some problems in the early stages, the provision of inservice training for both principals and staff, and the presence of a budget information system that enabled each principal to know, at least on a monthly basis, the state of the budget for the school.

Rigby notes that school-based budgeting places more pressures on the principal. The administrationof the budget requires more work and responsibility. The internal distribution of funds within the school requires a management style that can maintain good relations among staff members who compete for a fair share of the funds. Accountability to central office increases for the wise use of funds to meet the program objectives of the school. When problems arise, more of the blame falls on the shoulders of the principal, whereas formerly some of the blame could be diffused to central office because it controlled the purse strings. In view of the additional pressures, the board of education and central office administrators are well advised to make an assessment of the capabilities of the principals before the adoption of school-based budgeting. Also a phasing in of school-based budgeting is advisable. The program may begin with the allocation of a few categorical funds and extended to more categories and to more global appropriations as principals gain skill and experience. Perhaps experience with non-personnel budget items is a prerequisite to the successful extension of authority to include funds for personnel.

An important rationalization for decentralized budgeting found in the literature is that the system facilitates meeting the unique needs of students. This implies that schools require differential funding because needs differ. Some schools may have severe drop-out problems, for example, or large enrolments of native or immigrant children, or a disproportionately high percentage of backwardness in reading. School-based funding formulas used in Saskatchewan rural divisions do not take such differences into account. As school-based budgeting evolves, one development that would be very desirable is the inclusion of differential funding to meet differential needs. Thus, a two-tiered formula might be used to distribute funds to schools. The first tier could consist of a basic per-pupil allotment that would make up the bulk of the budget and would recognize the many program needs that are common to all schools. The second tier could consist of differntial grants based on a formula that takes unique needs and their severity into account.

In conclusion, Rigby's study showed that decentralized budgeting in rural Saskatchewan school divisions was well in place at least in a limited way. This was not the case some ten to fifteen years ago. There is, however, room for further development, perhaps along the lines of differential funding and perhaps along the lines of personnel needs. It is difficult to say what factors will prompt further development; certainly the perceptions of principals about their roles in using financial resources in their schools will be an important factor. Another may be the increase in multigraded classrooms forced upon the schools because of declining enrolments. Whatever the trends, the study of decentralized budgeting should be of continuing interest to those involved in the governance and administration of education.

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The Case Study as a Research Methodology: Difficulties and Advantages of Integrating the Positivistic, Phenomenological and Grounded Theory Approaches.

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I. Introduction and General Requirements

This paper is concerned with the selection of methods for carrying out a study which had the intention of identifying factors influencing the innovativeness of a secondary comprehensive school in the west of England. The school had a reputation for early adoption of innovations aspects of both curriculum and organization and, for reasons which will be discussed later, it was chosen as the appropriate location.

Beginning with the general belief that a school with a reputation for innovativeness could be identified, a research design had therefore to be determined that would allow me to pursue the stated intention. It was necessary that (1) innovativeness must be established over a period of time; (2) an account of the growth of the school be included; (3) the research would, by the nature of the topic, be conducted in the field; (4) data would be required about organizational structure, leadership, staff and other variables; (5) time would be needed so that I could establish my role as fieldworker and form positive relationships with past and present members of staff and (6) by the nature of the topic and the questions raised in the literature review, a variety of research techniques would be required, not only to elicit data, but also to provide cross-checks wherever possible.

In considering a research design, several approaches were examined and, while each was rejected as the sole method, aspects were chosen which were compatible with the theoretical stance adopted. It must be recalled, however, that the cross-referencing was done while the theoretical and practical aspects proceeded simultaneously and that this account cannot recount every detail. I shall include only broad principles that were discussed in reaching a decision to use the case-study as the overall methodological approach.

2. Methodological Approaches

In the literature of organizational analysis, the "two sociologies debate" was noted; in translating the two into methodological terms, it is found that the scientific and interpretative approaches to investigation both have a place in sociological research.

2.1 The Scientific or Positivist Approach

The scientific or positivist method is based upon a research methodology closely parallelling that of the natural sciences and includes:

(1) the use of an external observer;
(2) the systematic testing of hypotheses;
(3) generalization from data;
(4) reliance upon statistical methods.

Phillipson (1972) notes that textbooks on current research methods lay down a set of "ideal" prescriptions for carrying out "good" research within this framework by dividing the process into a number of formal stages (hypothesis generation, pre-pilot, pilot, the survey itself, analysis, report) within each of which certain rules must be followed.

The scientific method has a broad appeal but there are deficiences, including an unwillingness by many to question the basic assumptions on which research methods rest and to examine critically research procedures borrowed from the physical sciences (Phillipson, 1972). The result has been an undue emphasis on measurement and statistical methods, to the extent that statistical theory determines research design.

The existence of strong objections to the positivistic approach is sufficient reason to reject it as a sole basis for the methodological position adopted in the present study, despite the undoubted strengths it possesses. A further reason is that since the early 1960's, there has been a shift towards interpretative sociology as more sociologists moved towards interpretative sociology as more sociologists moved towards participant observation as a methodological technique in order to understand social interactions.

2.2 The Interpretative Approach

The basic question raised by the interpretative approach is whether the attempt to create a "sociology" in the manner of the natural sciences is not a mistaken enterprise, notwithstanding the prestige of methods of the natural sciences as a mode of cognition about the world (Phillipson, 1972). Phenomenological sociology attemps to provide such an alternative by grounding itself on what it takes to be the particular characteristics of a given set of circumstances and requires a methodology distinct from that of the natural sciences because there is a fundamentally different point of view with respect to meaning. Whereas natural phenomena have no intrinsic meanings, social phenomena do. Interpretation therefore replaces recording.

The interpretative approach is based upon the following:

(1) understanding and interpreting from within, from the subject's point of view;

(2) building of theory from data;

(3) use of the case study;

(4) employment of observation and interviews as methods of understanding the shared norms and values and the manner in which the social world is constructed.

There are also criticisms of the interpretative approach. Although it is claimed that human behaviour can only be truly understood, when the individual perceptions of the participants are understood, there are occasions when groups of people will react in a uniform and predictable manner, regardless of their individual perceptions. Greer (1969) advances this position and notes as an example the high degree of uniformity in any society's life, produced by outside constraints without much attention to individual variation. We conform to customs, but there are often unknown reasons for doing so. It is also argued that man-made institutions are more than the sum of the ways in which groups of participants define them; there must, as a result, be something independent of their perceptions they can all see (White and White, 1976; Hoyle, 1976).

The interpretative approach was also rejected as the sole approach in the present study because it was considered that behaviour was to some extent organizationally constrained. Nevertheless, the value of understanding interactions and meanings of social phenomena within the school led to the use of those methods within the framework ultimately adopted.

2.3 Grounded Theory

A third consideration is that which Glaser and Strauss (1967) describe as the "discovery of grounded theory." They propose the method as a way of improving social scientists' capacity for generating theory that will be relevant to their research and which at the same time will provide a different perspective "on the canons derived from vigorous quantitative verification." "Grounded theory" results from the discovery of theory from data that fit empirical situations and provide relevant predictions, explanations and applications.

Glaser and Strauss contend that theory based on data usually cannot be completely refuted by more data nor replaced by another theory and that therefore it is destined to last, despite modification and reformulation. They suggest Weber's theory of bureaucracy and Durkheim's theory of suicide as examples. The grounded theory approach therefore has much to offer, because it relies upon data, rather than upon "arm-chair" theorizing, but it does not, at the same time, rule out data collected by instruments, nor does it eschew an interpretative approach, indeed it incorporates them both.

Glaser and Strauss (1967) base their methodology on an interrelation of data at each stage in the research design. Their position is that data are compared at each stage in order to:

(1) discard irrelevancies;
(2) note recurring themes;
(3) refer new or conflicting evidence to the emerging grounded theories or concepts.

They designate it the Constant Comparative Method.

Steps are created by determining key ideas from the data and categorizing them. As different observations are analysed, those which correspond to established ideas are added to existing categories, new ideas form new categories. Thus stages remain in use, while others are added as necessary, until analysis is terminated. A similar approach is found in Parlett and Hamilton's (1972) research strategy of "illuminative evaluation".

In the present study, the texts of interviews (approximately eighty hours on tape alone), documents and minutes were available for this research approach, but they represented, nevertheless, only a small fraction of the total data available if all possible sources could have been approached. Therefore, a wholesale adoption of the grounded theory approach was not proceeded with for two reasons: (1) on practical grounds because the method of constant comparison was not possible in a study restricted by lack of access to sources and by time, and (2) on theoretical grounds, because one cannot pretend to be ignorant of all existing sociological theory.

Factors determined from the literature review, pertinent theory and instruments were therefore used to order data where necessary. Cross-checking was also carried out using alternative methods of analysis, as suggested by Parlett and Hamilton (1972).

2.4 The Case Study - The Final Choice of Method

Following a review of the literature, I came to accept the fact of organizational restraint upon behaviour, but at the same time believed that an understanding of relationships within the organization was also necessary. The case study method is consistent with this view and also allows one to make use of the strengths of the various approaches discussed. In addition it allows one to include the considerations noted under "General Requirements" for carrying out the study, for it gives the researcher the opportunity to see the situation as a whole, while at the same time enabling him to understand relationships (Goode and Hatt, 1952). It is then the hope that concepts can be developed that will lead to models or propositions for further study. It is also apparent that, in seeing the whole situation while furthermore observing internal relationships, the case study likewise permits a combination of different research procedures.

From the interpretative position comes the desirability of probing beyond the results of positivistic instruments to the position where the perceptions of interactions are recorded but not necessarily accepted at face value. Positivistic methods provide the chance to compare views using very different instrumentation and allow comparisions to be made with general cases. The grounded-theory approach gives some order to the research methods and gives a framework within which data may be seen in relationship, whatever their sources. It was after reading Glaser and Strauss and Parlatt and Hamilton that the methodological issues began to appear less formidable. Their methods reinforced the choice of the case study as the most suitable in the circumstances. As well as advantages listed earlier, the case study also allowed me to understand better the processes by which the conditions evolved as well as to describe changes that actually occurred. Rather than begin with what Dale (1973) described as "What every one knows about the school," it was necessary to examine commonly held beliefs and familiar practices in order to understand their meanings and place them in context.

3. The Role Adopted in Carrying Out the Research

The case study is familiar in educational research; for example, Clark (1960), Becker *et al.* (1961) and Hargreaves (1967). The empiricist would reject the method, because there is the danger that in becoming immersed in the culture, the observer might begin to take for granted the behaviour he is trying to explain (Selltiz *et al.*, 1965; Cicourel, 1964). The participant observer also modifies behaviour of his subjects to some extent; his presence cannot go completely unnoticed (Bruyn, 1970; Lutz and Iannaccone, 1969).

In the event, I set out to establish an observer's role more towards the "non-participating" model, but fully aware that because of the following circumstances I could not remain wholly detached:

(1) My experience as an administrator. As the year went on, I was more frequently appealed to for an opinion which was either refused, or phrased in general terms.

(2) The known acquaintanceship with one of the staff. Although a housemaster, this teacher was one of the "rebels" and not part of the "establishment", which minimized any close association with the hierarchy in the minds of teachers.

(3) The writer's two daughters were also given permission to attend Hilford School, one in the Fifth Year, the other in Second Year, which was a calculated risk for it added another dimension to the role of observer. It was not an unusual occurrence, however, to have visiting overseas children enrolled at Hilford and there was a positive effect in reassuring staff that the school was accepted as a school as well as an object of research. In the event, the added dimension proved to be valuable, for it allowed access on a normal level to the machinery for dealing with parents. There was no evidence that the parental/research roles ever conflicted with each other, on either side.

(4) The decision to join in staff social functions.

By remaining on the edge of the activities and by varying the role from strict observation to social participant, it is believed that the optimum position was achieved with respect to (1) not affecting to any great extent the normal organizational interactions between teachers while (2) being accepted by them so that they were not threatened by my presence.

The final research methodology, therefore, was an eclectic approach based on:

(1) observation which was as open-minded as it could be but

(2) drawing on (a) existing theory and concepts (for example, Havelock's Models) and (b) existing instruments (with their built-in theoretical positions) as appropriate to the study under a given set of circumstances.

There are undoubtedly difficulties with such an approach in a conceptual way - and they surfaced in practice in a sense of "non-direction" for a time - but for a rounded picture, it was considered that different perspectives were necessary. As a model developed, it gave an order to the research that enabled me to build upon it and make use of the various approaches in a more integrated fashion. Some of the practical difficulties, and they are important enough to be considered data, are related below.

4. Techniques of Data Collection in the Role of Observer

Models for data gathering are available from several sources. They include:

(1) The Clark (1960) Model, which lists five main sources:

(a) Documents: used to help the investigator understand the formal purposes of the organization. They include memoranda from officials, minutes of meetings, head's communications to staff.

(b) Observation: unstructured observation is essential to the building of grounded theory. The observer can detect patterns of interaction and can report them descriptively or use them to formulate hypotheses.

(c) Interviews: early interviews should be unstructured; structured lists of questions can be formulated as the study progresses.

(d) Questionnaires: used as necessary to verify observations.

(e) Historical background: documents, newspapers, school magazines.

(2) The Blau and Scott (1963) Model, which is similar in principle, but which gives more direction with respect to interviewing.

5. Identification of the School and an Account of the Research Procedures

My proposal for a study of an innovative school was accepted in early 1972, following which a preliminary meeting was held with my supervisor in May, 1972, and a very general outline of the approach discussed. Several schools, all considered to be innovative to some degree were considered as suitable subjects for study, one in particular, Hilford School in Westowe.* By coincidence, I had an introduction, through a former professional colleague, to a member of staff of Hilford School.

It was agreed that an exploratory visit should be made to Hilford School. This done, preliminary proposals were put to the headmaster who was agreeable in principle to the study, provided no serious objections were raised by staff. Negotiations were left at this stage for a year, during which preliminary reading of the literature of innovation and of methodological issues was begun.

In May 1973, a further visit was made to the school at which time a firm commitment was made with the headmaster, subject to approval from a staff committee. Permission was not then nor ever, sought from the Local Education Authority or the Board of Governors. The headmaster and the contact on the staff undertook to see that plans would be made known to the school; arrangements were also made to meet with a small committee of staff. The literature search continued and the tentative choice of questionnaires and instruments discussed, within the methodological context. Field work began in August 1973 with identification of (1) specific innovations and 2) those who were known to have taken part in them, as the first simple tasks.

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* Hilford School is the fictitious name of a comprehensive school in the fictitious city of Westowe in the County of Westshire.

The case study approach occasioned a loose research design in the initial stages which, together with the aproblematical nature of the study, or perhaps the too general nature of the problem, led to a period of two or three months in which I proceeded without a definite direction, gathering data, using instruments (mainly to establish attitudes and to obtain lists of innovations) and arranging interviews. The literature review was also proceeding at the same time and the part of it with which I was most familiar, because of my background, was based on a positivistic approach. The fact that I was not using this research orientation exclusively added to my general unease. This period, which might be called Phase I, was characterized by a general fogginess in the direction of the study, if not the purpose. To some extent, it could be attributed to the methodology adopted, for it is clearly impossible to expect to formulate hypotheses or models by the Constant Comparative Method when data gathering is in progress. It is not possible to order the work in the early stages, so that one must work along in a general way, developing promising concepts as they arise.

Procedural difficulties had been encountered even in the preliminary visit in May, 1973, for there was some initial confusion because discussion of a specific innovation was mistaken for the content of the study as a whole. The misunderstanding was due to some extent to the intervention of the acquaintance mentioned above, who undertook to initiate proceedings with a subject curriculum committee which would pass judgment on behalf of staff.

An interview was arranged with the chairman of this group and some difficulties cleared away. The greatest of these was eventually isolated as a concern that the research project was one based at the University of Toronto (where I held an appointment) and that observations would be published there. Once it was established that the study was under the jurisdiction of the University of Bristol, opposition diminished sharply. Confusion had not all been cleared up, however.

Deficiencies in the original introduction to the staff as a whole came to the surface when a questionnaire was circulated in late September, 1973. Despite a length letter sent to all staff earlier, it was found that preparation of staff had not occurred and that details of the proposals had not been circulated, as had been assumed. Swift action had to be taken to remedy this serious omission; most staff knew that something was happening, but they were unaware of details. Consequently, a deliberate effort was made to visit staff rooms, house lunch rooms and assemblies. A further letter was written and a statement made at a meeting of the Common Room. These efforts and growing acceptance due to familiarity, made it possible to weather the storm, during which, for a short period, it appeared that cooperation might be difficult to obtain. The practical difficulties added to the general unease associated with what has been designated "Phase I".

Phase II can be described as that in which I was beginning to be accepted in the school, and to have a feeling for the innovative reputation of Hilford. A complicating factor, however, was the dominating personality of the headmaster, whose presence and values permeated everything in the school. Interviews which were planned along semi-structured lines about processes of innovation, inevitably developed into discussions about the headmaster and his actions. Nevertheless, although this phenomenon led me astray temporarily, it was in the perceptions that the glimpse of a "model" was seen. In interviews, analysis of replies to questionnaires, from reading documents and from observations, paradoxical positions with respect to different dimensions within the school. Some saw events one way, others differerently, but most began to describe events in terms of the traditional/progressive mix. The terms were not used consciously, but they emerged in perceptions of what had been experienced. The literature search, however, was not helping, for most of the sources available were systems-oriented with conflicts in terms of processes and there were few direct references to goal conflicts or dualities of values except for the bureaucratic/professional theme.

Gradually a concept began to take shape in crude form and thus Phase III began in which observations continued but were more ordered. The duality of values was named the Janus Syndrome and was, with hindsight, seen to exist not only in the head's policies and values, but also in almost every manifestation of the daily life of the school, going back to the beginning. The continuity was remarkable, for interpretations from quite independent sources repeatedly reinforced each other. Results from instruments and observation confirmed innovativeness which fitted many positivistically-derived correlates. They had been clouding the analysis because they had been expected. It was only when I was able to probe beneath them that a different interpretation began to appear. The emerging concept seemed to be powerful enough to be used as a means of testing the validity of other instruments. It was therefore decided to analyse Havelock's Process Models as part of the study with a view to suggesting possible modifications in them a position compatible with the methodological position of accepting, with reservation, instruments biased towards positivistic methods of research.

The tentative model now began to order the observations. It could be seen from the review of the literature that organizational structure must be considered not only for what was included but also for what was seen to be missing. Structure also emerged as a strong factor in the field work. The leadership and administrative styles and decision-making processes began to fall into place around the duality concept although some of the manifestations were disguised. This was not a problem in the long run but it did mask some of the effects at the time.

As a consequence of the development of concepts, systematic interviewing of staff and former staff continued, but was directed towards the dimensions noted in Figure 1. Attendance at meetings, search of documents and of the literature continued also in these terms. During the spring of 1974, more instruments were used, including the Leader Behavior Description Questionnaire, the Organization Climate Description Questionnaire and an instrument designed to detect patterns in and perceptions of the decision-making processes. Parents were approached once again with a follow-up instrument concerning their perceptions of goals and values held in the school. Later in the year respondents were requested to supply recollections of proposed innovations blocked by the headmaster.

It was now possible to proceed, even though slowly at first, on the basis that a significant factor was emerging from the observed data and that efforts must be directed towards filling in the skeleton by referring to the literature, by re-analysing observations already made and by orienting future field work along these lines. By the time this realization emerged, much of the raw data had been gathered, mostly in what were termed Phases I and II, where clear direction was lacking. It was not an easy task to insert the material _post factum_ but there was a unifying thread, because Hilford was undoubtedly an innovative school by most measures and the Janus Syndrome manifested itself continually and explained many observations. Putting it into words, in a logical development, was now all that remained.

6. A Summary of Data Collection Methods Used

The role adopted made it possible to attend as many functions as time and other duties permitted. No opposition was ever expressed to note-taking or to my presence at meetings. Indeed, as the year progressed, material was frequently proffered without a request being made and copies of minutes were invariably placed in the appropriate pigeon-hole in the staff area. I was welcomed at staff functions as a member of the Common Room, at parents' nights as a parent and professional and at other meetings as a responsible member of staff. Although no teaching was done, there was formal contact with pupils at assemblies (at which I was invited to speak) and in presentations to the Sixth Form.

Observation was carried out by attendance at as many meetings of staff and committees as possible, but without active participation. Staff meetings, common room meetings, departmental heads' meetings and housemasters' meetings were regularly attended, as well as tutors' meetings in one house and meetings of one department (geography). From time to time, humanities team meetings and working party meetings were also attended. Assemblies and parents' nights were also observed in the same fashion.

Notes were taken to supplement minutes of meetings. In addition to meetings within the formal organization, informal observations were made in staff rooms of the social and professional interactions. There were at least six places where staff gathered in the school in any numbers, as well as small groups who met for morning tea in various offices. It was not possible to observe more than a small selection of these meetings.

Interviews: As a result of unstructured interviews conducted with the headmaster and deputy head, information gained was used to prepare a list of those to be approached concerning:

(1) specific innovations,
(2) the structure of the school,
(3) the history of the school.

In order to identify innovations further, an unstructured questionnaire was sent to all mbmers of staff. The questionnaire was accompanied by a letter of explanation about the nature of the research and my position in the school.

Indirect interviews in the form of both structured and unstructured questionnaires were held with parents, in order to obtain their views of the aims of the school and other data. Structured questionnaires were used to obtain data on relative innovativeness from other schools, from members of staff and from "educator" parents. Structured questionnaires were used for the Butcher-Oliver attitudes measure, for leadership and organizational climate and for the collection of data about the decision-making structure of the school and about characteristics of staff.

Direct interviews formed a major source of data. Semi-structured interviews concerning the process of innovation and the organizational structure of the school were given to a total of 74 different subjects

(85 interviews in all). Thirty of the 74 were former staff members, five had not ever been. All but fourteen interviews were tape recorded; notes were taken in the others.

Documents: minutes of meetings were consulted when possible, although few existed of the earliest days. Back copies of the school magazine were a source of data concerning activities and staff mobility and responsibilities, and especially of the aims of the head in the early days of the school. Newspaper files were valuable sources of information about the issue of comprehensivism, especially the political confrontations of the 1960's.

The use of structured questionnaires was limited to verification and the choices were made on the following grounds:

(1) Those chosen are widely accepted.

(2) Time was not available in which to develop new theories in cases that proved to be supportive of the emerging theme based on observation.

(3) Instruments used included the Leader Behavior Description Questionnaire and the Organization Climate Description Questionnaire, both of which contain cautions concerning their use without interpretation.

(4) When describing the process of innovation, while Havelock's models were accepted and adopted as an heuristic device to order

observations, the opportunity was taken to examine his models in terms of the same observations.

(5) In all cases perceptions of actors and interpretations by the observer were included as cross-checks.

The selection of samples vaired with the method and the instrument. The formal instruments were completed according to established techniques, using either the whole population (for example, staff attitudes to education) or a random sample (parental views of goals of the school). With respect to the processes of innovation, all current members of staff with two or more years' service were interviewed, together with all former members of staff whose names were mentioned as having been party to major innovations. While this procedure provided a sample which comprised the more senior people, a number of others were included who were not formal leaders and therefore not considered to have vested interests in success.

Decision-making structure was determined using all current staff (by questionnaire) and from interviews with former staff. The fortunate fact that there had been only one headmaster provided continuity in many aspects of the case study. All former deputy heads were interviewed.

Access was provided to all minutes and journals still in existence - these samples were determined by the physical availability of documents. Many of those interviewed were able to provide similar data from earlier years. Extensive use was also made of the newspaper files and vertical files of local educational events from the Westowe Central Reference Library.

7. Summary

The case approach had the merit of allowing an in-depth study of one organization with a view to gathering data by a variety of methods while using the strengths of different methodoligical approaches. From the systems appraoch came external ordering and instruments based on the systems viewpoint, from phenomenological sociology came the use of observation and interpretation of every-day events and interpersonal interactions. Some aspects of the Constant Comparative Method were also used in generating theory from data gathered in the field. The case study permitted all these methods and also gave a feel for the school as an organization and for the moods and activities of those who formed it.

A major concern was my position as "field worker/observer". In my opinion, it was successful, but there were some difficult moments. Almost all case-studies dwell at length on the relationship of the observer to the members of the organization. To be too detached means that nuances are missed; to be too involved means that one takes things for granted and also that there is a danger of being too closely identified with one group or another. It took much time and effort to assure teachers that association with the senior teachers and administrators did not mean that confidences would be transmitted. A frequent question (especially in the early stages) was "Will the head see (or hear) this?" On the other hand, when dealing with many respondents, the writer's professional background opened the door to discussions on a level much higher than might reasonably have been expected. Access was gained to many private thoughts and interpretations for there was an appreciation that they were highly pertinent to the study. These were great strengths, for the information could not have been easily collected in structured questionnaires.

8. An Acknowledgement

Cooperation received at the school was excellent; I was treated as a member of staff*, given access to meetings and documents without question and there was seledom a lack of willingness to give needed information. The misunderstandings about the role of the observer were cleared up once they surfaced; in fact, I was given a farewell gift by the housemasters' group and I donated a trophy for a house competition. I frequently ate meals in the various dining areas and also spoke at house assemblies and to the Upper School. Teachers and administrators alike were frank and open in in their comments. Perhaps all schools need an outside, independent observer who listens without necessarily being able to do anything about the problems discussed.

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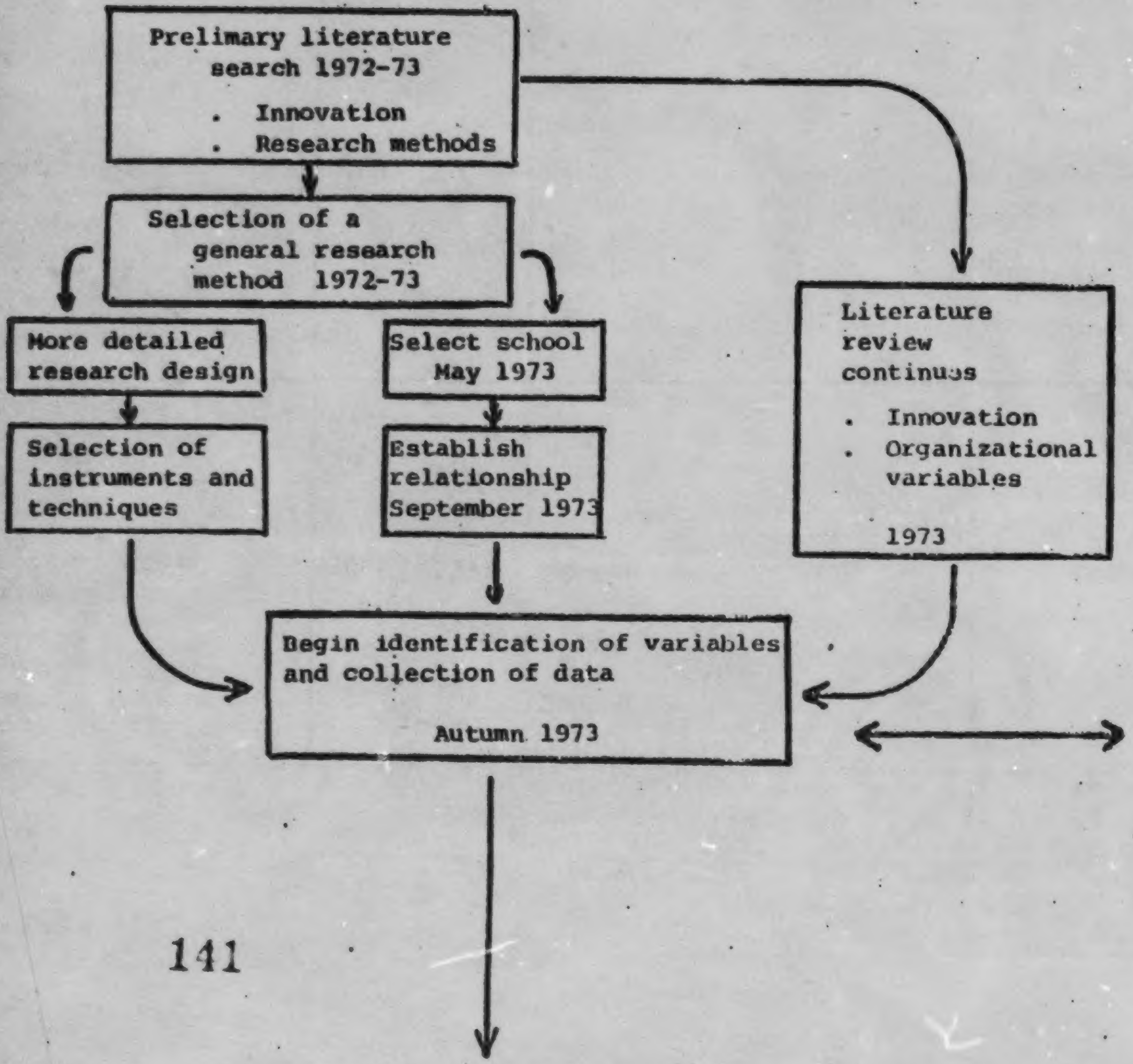
* An intriguing and perhaps significant exception was that the office secretaries always charged me the visitor's rate (22p) for lunch, rather than the staff rate (18p). Perhaps the office is the real locus of power in a school.

Interviews with those no longer at the school were of the same order. Many gave freely of their time in order to provide information; such openness was widespread, and was practised by the headmaster himself who offered access to all his records *carte blanche*. The courtesy and generous cooperation made the task of researching the school so much the easier.

Figure 1 The Research Design

Phase I - Lack of Direction

An Open, Aproblematical Approach May 1972 to December 1973


Prelimary literature search 1972-73
. Innovation
. Research methods
Selection of a general research method 1972-73
More detailed research design
Selection of instruments and techniques
Select school May 1973
Establish relationship September 1973
Literature review continues
. Innovation
. Organizational variables
1973
Begin identification of variables and collection of data
Autumn 1973

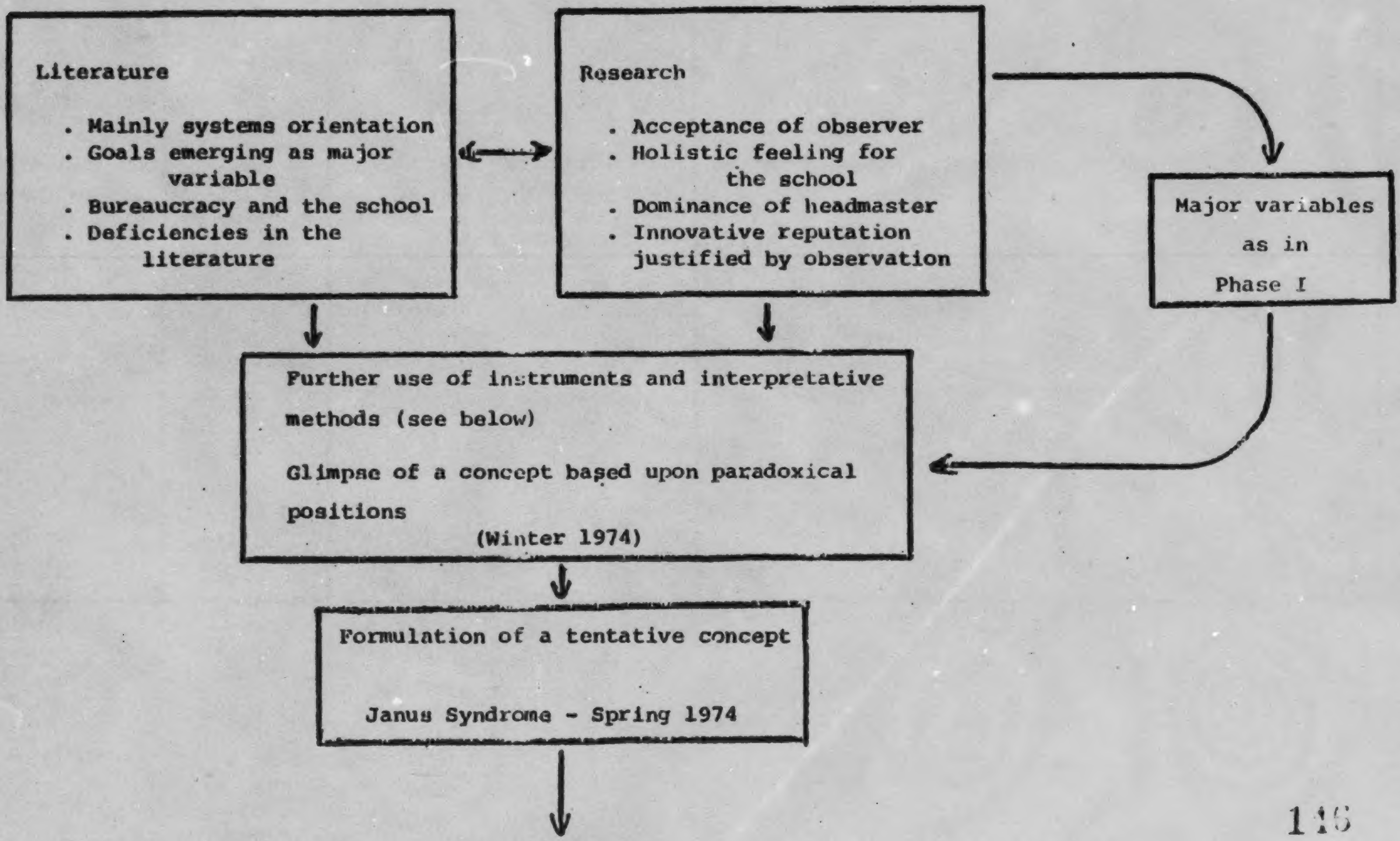
Variables emerging from Review and Data	
Values	Goals Historical development Politics of education
Management	Leadership Paper structure
Resources	Physical Financial Staff Clients

Phase I

Instruments Used in Data Gathering - Sept/Dec 1973

Name	Date	Purpose	Source of Equivalent Interpretative Data
List of innovations at Hilford School	Sept 1973	Establish list of innovations for further study	Interviews provided confirmation *post factum*
Rating of innovativeness; (a) by staff, (b) by parents	Oct 1973	Establish innovative nature of the school	Interviews with former CEO's and former staff now in senior positions Documents, school *Journals*, committee minutes, newspaper files
Relative innovativeness (County of Westshire)	Oct/Nov 1973	Establish innovativeness relative to other schools	Interviews with former CEO's, current and former members of staff.
Survey of Opinions about Education	Oct 1973	Establish grouped data on staff attitudes	Interviews, parents' meetings, committee, house and departmental meetings. Informal discussions with staff.
Parental Questionnaire	Nov/Dec 1973	Establish reasons for choice of school and perceptions of reputation held by parents	Open-ended questions about reputation led to formulation of another instrument

Phase II -- Some Progress: Winter - Spring 1974



Literature

- Mainly systems orientation
- Goals emerging as major variable
- Bureaucracy and the school
- Deficiencies in the literature

Research

- Acceptance of observer
- Holistic feeling for the school
- Dominance of headmaster
- Innovative reputation justified by observation

Major variables as in Phase I

Further use of instruments and interpretative methods (see below)

Glimpse of a concept based upon paradoxical positions

(Winter 1974)

Formulation of a tentative concept

Janus Syndrome - Spring 1974

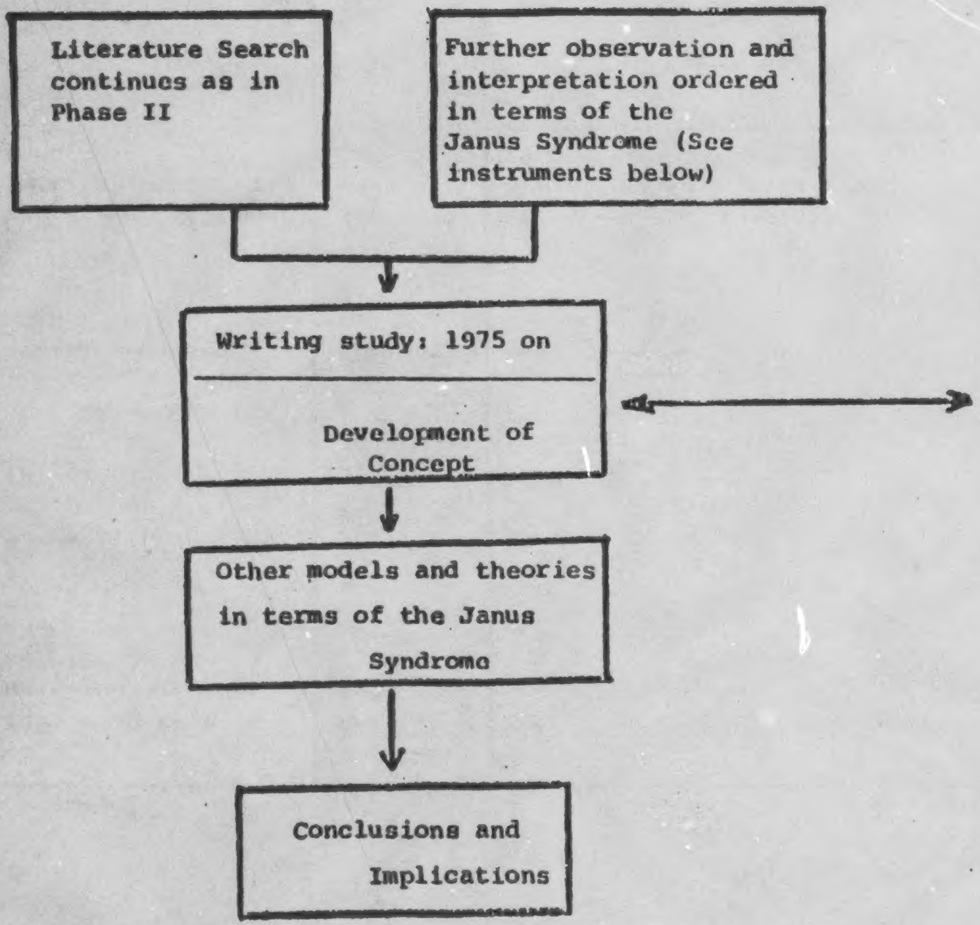
A3

Phase II -- Instruments Used in Data Gathering - Spring 1974

Name	Date	Purpose	Source of Equivalent Interpretative Data
OCDQ (trial in another school)	Jan/Feb 1974	Organizational climate and relationship to innovation	Interviews and personal observation
LBDQ	Jan/Feb 1974	Leadership style - relationship to administrative structure, innovation	Interviews, assemblies, minutes, meetings, observation
Staff demographic data	March 1974	Correlate of innovation. Head's recruiting policy	Observation (limited)
Staff mobility	March 1974	Upward mobility - head's recruiting policy	Observation, school Journal, informal links, interviews

A4

Phase III -- Order Emerges: Spring 1974


Literature Search continues as in Phase II
Further observation and interpretation ordered in terms of the Janus Syndrome (See instruments below)
Writing study: 1975 on
Development of Concept
Other models and theories in terms of the Janus Syndrome
Conclusions and Implications

	Variables
Values	Duality of goals progressive traditional Environment
Management	Leadership style Recruiting policies Structure Bureaucratic/collegial dichotomy Limited autonomy
Resources	Environment Clients Staff Head's relations with superiors

Phase III -- Instruments Used in Data Gathering - Spring 1974 to 1975

Name	Date	Purpose	Source of Equivalent Interpretative Data
Follow-up from questionnaire on reputation of the school	March 1974	Establish duality of values	Observations, interviews, assemblies, parents' nights, documents (minutes, newspaper files, theses, school Journal)
Perceptions of goals (a) parents (b) pupils	April 1974	Supporting evidence for the preceding	Limited observation, conversations, Friends of Hilford School (meetings and social events), social contacts with parents and pupils
Decision-making structure	Apr/May 1974	Data and perceptions of structure	Observations, interviews, meetings, documents
Evaluation of institutionalized innovations	June 1974	"Progressive" innovations are acceptable in the long run as part of the successful image of the school	Observation, interviews with parents, informal links with the community
Blocked innovations	Sept/Oct 1975	Unsuccessful attempts at innovation fit the emerging model	Interviews, letters, informal links

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SCHOOL CONTROL - WHAT, HOW AND WHY

Mark Holmes

OISE

Paper Presented to CSSE - June 1981

Under the big 500-watted lamps, in the huge sawdusted
government inspected slaughter-house,
head down from hooks and clamps, run on trolleys over
troughs,
the animals die.
Whatever terror their dull intelligences feel
or what agony distorts their most protruding eyes
the incommunicable narrow skulls conceal.
I, too, misjudge the real
purpose of this huge shed I'm herded in: not for my love
or lovely wool am I here,
but to make some world a meal.
See, how on the unsubstantial air
I kick, bleating my private woe,
as upside down my rolling sight
somersaults, and frantically I try to set my world upright;
too late learning why I'm hung here.

There are few people more in need of learning why we're hung here than educational administrators. Teaching was once a profane profession, concerned with ministering to the mind, as compared, not unfavorably, with the sacred profession of priesthood, concerned with ministering to the spirit. Education may still be seen as having a profane bent, but unfortunately the word and its connotation have changed.

Hayes'(1943) verse, as well as vividly illustrating 20th century angst, suggests an ambiguity that is reflected in this approach to administration. On the one hand, administrators have no firm ruling principles behind whose armor they can shelter (as they somersault with rolling sight, bleating their private woe). On the other hand, they often seek an answer to why they are hung there, and their search suggests there may be an answer.

In attempting to provide that answer, I must first admit the shortcomings of my vision, and hope to disarm the reader. Any view of truth is limited, not only by the necessary failure to report what is seen accurately and unselectively, but also by the size of the object under inspection. The purpose and function of the slaughter-house are more easily comprehended than those of the school. Three views of the school will be like looking through three different keyholes into a darkened room. In this sense, the three views provided will not be three sides of the pyramid, they will not form a tidy synthesis. They will provide provisional answers to three questions about the school--what, how and why? The questions answered are not the only ones that could be asked, and the answers given are not the only possible ones. What claim can then be made for these particular questions and their associated answers? Only the idea that they make sense, and the proposition that where the view can be concretely and empirically explored, the evidence is consistent with what I describe.

All three views of the school are taken from an administrative perspective. The first one looks at the school in terms of its productive functions. It answers the question--what does the school achieve. The second view is of the school as a social organization. How does the school function? There is some relationship between the two views as the school's social functioning is presumably related to external outputs. The third view is of the school within a philosophical framework--for what does the school function? The last view is the most important, particularly for those who agree with Hodgkinson that "administration is philosophy in action" (1978, p.3). It is for that last view that one must come to terms with the problem of omni-present, 20th century, existentialist mindlessness without overlooking the "too late learning why I am hung here."

The School's Production Function

Schools have been pushed, poked, examined and pruriently fingered in a myriad of different ways. Administrators, for example, have used science of man management, organization theory, humanistic approaches and ethno-methodological studies. Others (e.g. Hodgkinson, 1978; Culbertson, 1980) have described these various approaches. There is little I wish to contribute to their summaries, particularly because it is apparent there is no received religion of educational administration before which the heretically inclined must either submit or revolt. One reason for this lack of religion is that none of the approaches has supplied very much truth or beauty, and few even meaning.

If a beginning is made with meaning, it is obvious that the school in contemporary, western society serves a number of functions--it provides relatively safe custodial care for the vast majority of youngsters until they reach adulthood;[1] it provides young people with the basic cognitive characteristics (the ability to read, write, and compute; the possession of general knowledge) required for survival and for further training; and it serves to distribute young people among an ever-increasing range of occupational futures with widely varying attributes in terms of social and economic status. As well as serving those three basic functions, about which there will be little factual disagreement, the school may serve certain additional functions, for some or all young people: the provision, or strengthening or weakening, of attitudes and values; the development, or weakening, of latent aesthetic and expressive abilities; training in special skills, usually but not always vocationally related (e.g. welding, swimming, or drafting); the development of higher level cognitive skills, such as the use of symbolism, logic and scientific method; the enhancement of physical fitness; and the improvement (or weakening) of skills involved in social interaction.

There is unlikely to be much disagreement on the fact that contemporary western schools do fulfil some or all of these functions. There will be disagreement about which of the second set of functions schools actually fulfil. There will be even more disagreement about which functions schools should fulfil and about which they should emphasize in which order of priority. I have argued that one central function of schooling in all modern, industrialized nations (both capitalist and communist) is, and ought to be, the distribution of social goods (income, status, occupation) among individuals (Holmes, 1980 a). Those who argue that it is inappropriate for schools to be emphasizing the distributive function must answer two questions: in democratic societies marked by ever increasing division of labor, what agency other than the school can serve to allocate jobs among young people; and, is it realistic to expect the public, in a capitalist, individualistic, democratic society, to support a lengthy period of compulsory, or quasi-compulsory schooling that does not serve observable instrumental purposes? It is no answer to the first question to assert, as some radical critics do, that employers, universities and professions can carry out the selection functions, leaving the schools to a purer form of education, comparatively unsullied by instrumental and occupational training. Obviously, in the context of a meritocratic society, that idea would certainly not lead to the adoption by schools of education rather than training. Quite the reverse, it would remain the function of schooling to prepare students adequately for the varied demands of those handling the distributive function. The instrumental emphasis of schools would be increased as schools would lose the existing limited control they have of the criteria appropriate for the distribution of students. We have only to look at private trade schools and preparatory cramming academies to see the results of this choice. In effect, there would be no change in the actual function of the schools--the only change would be in the control of the variables that govern the distribution of students. Those variables would be likely to become more instrumental rather than less. I am therefore assuming that the distribution of futures among young people is and will remain a central function of schools. That in no way implies that such distribution is either the only or the primary purpose of schooling.

Let us assume then that the administrator accepts that the legitimate functions of the school include: the provision of custodial care and basic cognitive attributes; the distribution of futures; and some or all of the other functions over which there will be both practical and philosophical disagreement. It would appear to follow that the administrator should seek to enhance the school's efficiency and effectiveness in the fulfilment of those functions--at least the ones selected by some approved mechanism.

Strangely, this is a view rarely taken by students of educational administration who have traditionally been engrossed in internecine warfare--betweeen people and process, between organizational theory and ethno-methodology. It would be understandable if those wars were being fought to determine the approach that would best help schools fulfil their legitimate functions but one could study most of the literature in educational administration over the last twenty years without being diverted or confused by any discussion of the efficacy of different approaches in actually promoting change in the learners, the crux of all the functions of schooling. A possible exception was the line of work on school climate developed by Gross and Herriott (1965) and Halpin (1966), promising work quickly abandoned when the rather naive hypothesis about relationships between harmonious, collegial teaching staffs and high cognitive outputs prove not to be supportable. A more important and exciting exception has been the recent work of Rutter (1979).

This is not to say there has been a dearth of studies of school effects. Quite the reverse, there has been a renaissance of interest in school effects, and many of the findings have important implications for administrators even though their findings have been generally ignored, notably in Canada, and particularly by academics engrossed in a more esoteric world where ideas on administration do not have to stand the humiliating test of utility. Furthermore, the school effects research has generally been carried out by sociologists, psychologists and economists. It is characterized more by raw empiricism than by any theoretical administrative framework--yet many of the effects measured and described are possibly or reputedly the outcomes of administrative decisions.

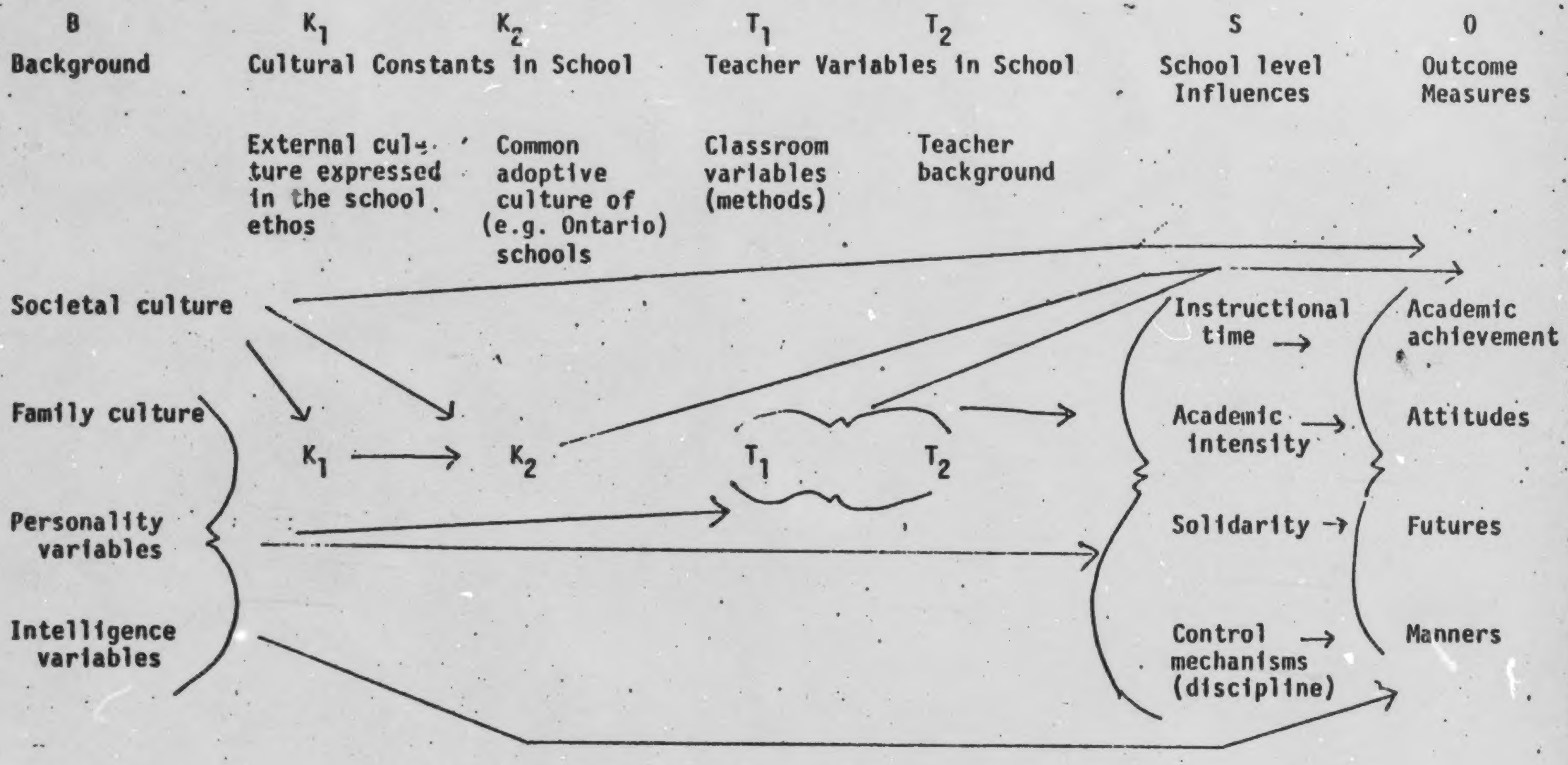
A Framework of Understanding the School's Achievement of its Central Functions

(Figure 1 about here)

Figure 1 conceptualizes the relationships among learners, society and the school in terms of the school's productive function. The Background variables are fairly familiar, with the possible exception of the rather vague term societal culture. We are so accustomed in the western world to thinking of individuals and the variables that differentiate them that we frequently lose sight of the commonalities. Thus Keniston (1964) was able to explain to his own satisfaction and that of a host of followers, the alienation of large numbers of American young people by examining a variety of psychological factors experienced by them as they grew up, without ever referring to the fact that young people in other countries (e.g. the Soviet Union) were not exhibiting the same symptoms of alienation yet were, in many cases, subject to very similar psychological stimuli. I am not denying the importance of the psychological triggers, but it is facile to deal with triggers while ignoring the social context. An analogy much before us today is that of violence in western, particularly American, society. Doubtless, psychologists are able to determine the youthful experiences that turn some people into assassins and rapists--but the idea that it is people rather than guns that kill people is being treated with scepticism even in the US, the shrine of individualistic libertarian psychology. By the term societal culture, then, I refer to those common factors within any society, or a sub-set of that society, that influence children's learning. They influence children through television and radio, through records and through daily intercourse with adults and peers. Such factors are the bane of empiricists as they are difficult or impossible to

Figure 1

SOCIETY AND SCHOOL -- EFFECTS ON THE CHILD


B
Background
K_1
K_2
Cultural Constants in School
T_1
T_2
Teacher Variables in School
S
School level Influences
O
Outcome Measures
External culture expressed in the school ethos
Common adoptive culture of (e.g. Ontario) schools
Classroom variables (methods)
Teacher background
Societal culture
Family culture
Personality variables
Intelligence variables
K_1
K_2
T_1
T_2
Instructional time
Academic intensity
Solidarity
Control mechanisms (discipline)
Academic achievement
Attitudes
Futures
Manners

measure. Yet it is as ludicrous to imagine that societal factors impinge on Inuit children in precisely the same way as children in New York City as it would have been 700 years ago to ignore that the world may be round because one could not fly around its circumference.

It is true that administrators are likely to be less interested in the common factor over which they have not control than in the school factors they may be able to influence. However, the common factors are of vital importance to an understanding of schooling. For example, it is often argued by academics, teachers and administrators (more rarely by members of the public who are less blinded by a little knowledge of our current reigning deity, psychology), that less emphasis need be placed on the basic skills in contemporary schools. Various reasons are given: children will learn to read when they are ready; our world is less print oriented and many individuals manage quite well without reading very much. There are two fallacies in the argument. The first one is to ignore the importance of the school in distributing futures--to permit some children not to become literate is to direct them, at a very early age, to a future, usually not one very much desired by parents, that does not require a high level of literacy. The second fallacy is to juxtapose that our world is less print oriented to the belief that children will learn to read by choice. Societal pressures today are more conducive to watching television that to learning to read. Children are quite likely to see adults and friends watching television more than reading. Administrators cannot change the societal variables but they can take action to counter them when they are inimical to the school's purposes. An analogous argument can be made with respect to violence and theft. The world of television may not teach that it is normative to settle disputes reasonably, rationally and fairly and it may not teach that private property is a significant value. Schools may or may not have as explicit purposes the development of an appropriate set of values, and I do not wish to argue that point here. However, no school can function if violence is accepted as a norm and if there is no regard for property. Background variables are of vital importance to the administrator.

The K variables, as the term suggests, are generally constants within a society. At least the between school variance is likely to be very low if one holds constant the more familiar family, personality and intelligence variables derived from the individuals who form the school population. The purpose here is not to attempt to distinguish between community culture (of a particular suburb, for example) and the collective culture of the families served by the school, although there may well be such a distinction. The major purpose of the K category is to emphasize that schools have many common features that stem from the larger community, just as individuals who come to school have common characteristics brought about by that larger community. Canadian schools tend to be more loosely administered than German schools. Indian schools tend to have a greater emphasis on a received body of knowledge than Canadian schools. The K variables could be sub-divided into global constants, western constants, national constants, provincial constants and local community constants. The K_2 category serves to emphasize the importance of the provincial context in Canada. For example, differentiation of futures varies between Quebec, where fifteen-year-olds sometimes select distinct vocational futures as electricians or motor mechanics, and Ontario where youngsters generally opt for distinct vocations at the age of eighteen or by dropping out of school altogether.

The T variables also tend to be constants in terms of inter-school, as distinct from inter-class, variance. However, it would be just as unwise for administrators to ignore the T variables as it would be for them to ignore the B and K variables. Although the history of research into teaching effectiveness has generally been a sad one, in recent years there has accumulated considerable evidence that teaching methodology does indeed make a difference. Mastery learning (Bloom, 1976) is a well known example of a methodology that can produce different, arguably not better, effects, including reduced inter-pupil variance. There is ample evidence that direct, formal instruction is more effective in teaching basic skills than is less formal instruction (Bennett, 1976; Stebbins et al., 1977; Cooley and Leinhardt, 1980). Thus there is an important difference between the background and cultural variables on the one hand and the teacher variables on the other. Although one might be tempted to classify them all as factors over which the administrator has no direct control, the time is fast approaching when the instructional variables will become very important. Indeed, many American school systems are already evaluating teachers on the basis of the performance of their students. It is obviously an administratively inadequate solution merely to fire or reprimand those teachers whose instructional techniques are inadequate. As for teacher background, T_2, the research is even more dismal. There is some evidence that teachers of high verbal ability are more effective than those of lesser ability (Coleman, 1966; Summers and Wolfe, 1975). The Victoria School Board,in British Columbia, is, according to press reports, planning to test all future applicants for teacher positions as part of the selection procedure.

The school level factors are those over which administrators have most direct control, and therefore are ones that are of central significance. Coleman's major study (1966) of equal opportunity led to much pessimism, both about the differential effect of schools and, quite inappropriately, about the overall effect of schools. In fact, it is the lingering confusion of these two concepts that has led to the collaboration of the K factors in this paper. An earlier paper of mine outlined some of the available evidence both that schools do make a difference and that different schools have different effects (Holmes, 1978). That paper concluded that the following manipulable school variables, according to existing research, are most likely to have a differential effect:

i) the social context of the school (classified here as a background variable);
ii) the academic atmosphere of the school;
iii) academic instructional time;
iv) the directness of the instruction (classified here as an instructional variable); and
v) teacher quality (also classified as a teacher variable).

A word is in order on the first factor, the so-called contextual variable. The learning outcomes of pupils are almost certainly influenced by the attitudes and expectations of their peers. Although these factors originally, by definition, derive from the background they are none the less partially manipulable by school officials, who determine school enrolment boundaries, types of tracking and the degree to which schools are differentiated by function. In other words, the distribution of students among schools and among programs may be an important factor quite separate from the ways in which schools are actually organized.

Bridge, Judd and Moock (1979) provide a masterly analysis of the Coleman report, demonstrating the weakness of both its measures of educational outcome and its statistical methodology by which it attempted to separate home influence from that of the school. They go on to survey a large body of research on school effects and come to even more positive conclusions than I did in 1978. They may well have erred on the optimistic side. For example, they suggest that kindergarten experience has a "lasting impact" on achievement (p. 205). Yet the massive IEA studies suggest very strongly that age of beginning school has no long term effect to the age of fourteen (Husén, 1967, p. 139).

A more balanced discussion of the problem is found in Madaus, Airasian and Kellaghan (1980). They too find convincing evidence that schools do have a differential effect on learning outcomes, emphasizing particularly the importance of academic atmosphere. They go beyond the claim by McDill and Rigsby (1973) that peer and teacher press, the norms of expectations of high achievement, are particularly potent factors. They also suggest that "relatively strict" school discipline (p.106) is conducive to high achievement.

One factor that particularly deserves more attention is that of instructional time. A recent research report (Holmes, 1979) concluded that "our knowledge is far exceeded by our ignorance." There is, according to the report, a welter of conflicting evidence. In subjects such as English and history, time and achievement appear to be quite unrelated. On the other hand, math and second languages are generally extremely sensitive to changes in instructional time, although not in any simple linear fashion. The report suggested that instructional time may be more closely related to tasks mainly learned in school and whose objectives are clearly specified, provided that normative standards of achievement, among teachers, parents and pupils, can be influenced. There can be little doubt that remarkably little administrative attention has been focussed on changing time allocations in different subjects. For example, it may well transpire that reading instruction during the first two or three years of school is closely related to subsequent achievement. On the other hand, time given to science in elementary school may be quite unrelated to subsequent achievement, unlike time allocation in the secondary school. Thus I am unable to share fully Madaus', Airaisian's and Kellaghan's conclusion that there is little need for more studies "predicting certain outcomes on the basis of knowing certain inputs" (p.190). There is still too much we do not know. Nevertheless, it is difficult to dispute their major conclusion that what is really needed is a greater understanding of the process of schooling that translates the rather crude inputs that empiricists measure into the equally crudely measured outputs.

The School as a Social Organism

When one turns from naked empiricism one is faced with difficult choices. Those who choose an ethno-methodological approach must either limit themselves to describing an apparently meaningless set of phenomena or attempt to select or interpret the phenomena. Thus symbolic interactionists have at least as great a problem in explaining their selection of phenomena and their choice of symbols as structural functionalists have in assuming that patterns of social behavior in fact fulfil the social obligations they describe.[2] The power of ethno-methodology is its explicative capacity--but it is of little value to the administrator who wants guidance in the development and modification of rules and norms and who seeks to make the organization function more effectively.

On the other hand, a structural functionalist approach can both provide intellectual enlightenment and guidance, particularly if it is embraced by an ideological framework. One such framework is Marxism. Numerous studies of schools have adopted an essentially functionalist position within a Marxist framework. Thus Bowles and Gintis (1976) adopt a macro-level approach and claim that schooling in North America functions as a cog in the capitalist wheel, churning out an untutored proletariat for insecure,poorly paid jobs and a conformist majority for jobs with authority and security. Willis (1977), from the same perspective, looks at the same phenomena at the school level and suggests that the educational treatment of non-academic secondary pupils in England is an apt preparation for the dysfunctional behavior of the unionized proletariat in that country. The situation in the USA and England is somewhat different (the American proletariat described by Bowles and Gintis tends to be non-unionized) but the correspondence theory is held to apply in both cases. That is to say, it is suggested that children are identified and trained in school for the appropriate social class position they will hold as adults. Olneck and Bills (1980) provide important empirical evidence to refute the correspondence theory--those identified by teachers as being most cooperative in school do not do best in the corporate world; the successful in the corporate world are precisely those who challenge unwarranted assumptions. Insofar as personality rather than cognitive achievement influences career success, then the desired qualities are the reverse of those anticipated by the correspondence theory.

Moveover, it is rather difficult to interpret quite diverse western societies, and their differing school systems, within a simple bimodal framework. Bowles and Gintis are convincing when they talk of the hidden minority of the non-organized, the unemployed, the non-unionized, the single parents.

But it is easier to see them as a minority under-class ignored by the prosperous majority (that hardly needs them) than as the mass proletarian base on whom the exploiters depend. In Britain, the situation is different, but it is equally difficult to see the mass proletariat (strongly unionized and well protected by welfare benefits) as being oppressed by a powerful capitalist clique, particularly when socialist governments, controlled to some degree by the unions, have been the rule since World War II.

For a number of reasons then, the Marxist framework is inappropriate. It does illustrate well the dangers of the Procrustean bed to which the structural functionalist is likely to be attracted. Early structural functionalists claimed objectivity as they drew pictures of social organizations from the members, criticizing their predecessors in anthropology of the 19th century who had interpreted primitive societies from the point of view of their own norms and values. Others, notably Lévi-Strauss (1963), have been quick to point out that social organizations' members are likely to provide conscious or unconscious rationalizations of their behavior that may have little relationship to the unconscious mythic reality. Thus if we ask teachers today why they make some children repeat grades they may first deny that they do ("grade repetition has been abolished in our schools") and then, when faced with the evidence that deceleration has increased over the last decade or two, will claim that it is done in the best interests of the child.[3] But Lévi-Strauss explicitly rejects a universal, simple Marxist explanation based on economic exploitation, pointing out that even Engels recognized the inapplicability of the Marxist analysis to many primitive societies. Lévi-Strauss, while criticizing some of the assumptions of early structural functionalists, retains himself many elements of the functional approach .

Social Exchange

Radcliffe-Brown (1957), probably the clearest exponent of structural functionalism, points out that whatever one's starting point one ends up examining the whole social structure (p.128). Thus, the Marxist choice of economic exchange is in no sense wrong, but the approach in practice lacks utility for two reasons. Firstly, the view of the school from an economic point of view is limited. (In the same way, my own approach (Holmes, 1980 a) beginning with analysis of education's distributive function would be quite misleading if it were not followed by a section dealing with the broader aims of education.) Secondly, as has been pointed out, the assumption that the school in 1981, reflects a simply dichotomized capitalist-proletarian society appears not to be borne out by a study of contemporary western societies.

Entwistle (1978) analyzes carefully a more popular and less obviously inapplicable variant of the Marxist analysis from a functionalist point of view. By this version, the school is an agent of the dominant and numerous middle (as distinct from capitalist) class and seeks to inculcate middle class ways. The approach lends itself easily to emotional muck-raking. Entwistle suggests (p.39) there are four logical positions one can take on the question:

(a) schools by their very nature must denote the values labelled as middle class, i.e. respect for learning and wisdom; willingness to postpone immediate gratification of one's desires;
(b) schools should be class distinctive and class reinforcing;
(c) schools should be multi-class;
(d) schools should be classless.

The last three logical options are all moral oughts, and thus provide little assistance to the administrator who wants to improve the effectiveness of the contemporary school. Ultimately, the questions the analyses raise are philosophical more than structural. This section of the paper is intended to concentrate on the practicality of understanding how the schools operate as social organizations, and by implication, how they can be operated more effectively. It is highly questionable how useful it is to preach against "middle class ways" in school systems that are predicated upon middle class assumptions unless one is proposing some entirely new system. In this example, as in many, I find the radical extremists on both left and right more logical than liberal progressives who seem unable to come to terms with the fact that, in our society, success is defined in terms of the middle class characteristics they want to erase in the schools, which are at the same time expected to produce successful students from all social classes.

The basis of a social structure, according to Radcliffe-Brown, is a sense of justice, one not far removed from Kant's idea that a person who does evil should suffer evil, and one who does good should receive benefits (1957, pp. 131-2). Good and evil, in this context, are relative terms, depending for their definition on the societal context. If one accepts that justice lies at the base of the social organization of the school, it makes sense to view it with the aid of the concept of equivalent return and just retribution. Although it is undoubtedly true that any entry point to a social organization will ultimately lead to all aspects of that organization, it is none the less true that the entry point determines to a large degree the main lines of one's findings. Thus while I agree with Radcliffe-Brown that justice and social exchange are excellent entry points, I do not claim that the selection is value free. Further, I am not assuming that it is desirable for the administrator to see good and evil in purely relativist terms.

Mauss (1966) clearly illustrates the universal significance of social exchange as a basis of social intercourse. While he disagrees with Malinowski that there is no such thing as a true gift (total prestation), he nevertheless, quotes approvingly the Maori proverb, "Give as much as you receive and all is for the best" (p.69). He also notes that, "To accept without repaying more is to face subordination" (p. 72) and that, "A gift not yet repaid debases the man who accepted it" (p.63).

Blau (1964) has analysed social exchange clearly in the context of the contemporary, complex social organization. He makes two important additions to the work of the earlier anthropologists. He provides a useful classification of three different types of social exchange, based on the incentives provided for reciprocating behavior. There is the unilateral incentive--where behavior is produced as a result of power; the intrinsic incentive, where behavior is rewarded by the behavior itself; and there is the extrinsic incentive, where the behavior is rewarded by some action not directly related to the behavior in question. Blau also emphasizes the importance of the genuineness, and spontaneity, of the rewarding behavior. Blau thus avoids the problem of determining whether or not there is such a thing as a purely altruistic gift; presumably it could always be argued that the purest charity can result in reciprocity either in an after-life or in improved self-concept in the here and now. Nevertheless, it is easy to distinguish between the teacher who praises poor work, either to encourage the student or to get him off the teacher's back, and the teacher who is spontaneously delighted with an excellent piece of work. It is one thing, of course, to understand the difference, another thing entirely to capture it in empirical terms. We can all think of examples of the extremes, but it is difficult to visualize a measurement scheme that could accurately reflect the range of genuineness. How does one distinguish, for example, the teacher who praises nearly everything, who has low standards and who is ingenuously but genuinely approving of rather sloppy work, from the hard-nosed teacher who rarely praises anything and genuinely disapproves of most of the work he receives? Which will be more effective in terms of social exchange? Presumably, a single unidimensional linear scale cannot encompass the varieties of genuiness even if the measurement problems could be solved.

I have shown elsewhere (Holmes, 1980 b) how social exchange can be applied profitably to an understanding of the school and to the improvement of student discipline. In particular, I emphasize the importance of sequenced rewards and sanctions that would at once promote solidarity within the organization and social disapproval of aberrant behavior. Here, it is more important to examine social exchange in the broader context of greater administrative effectiveness in the achievement of a broad range of goals.

Essential to the concept of social exchange is the idea of contract, implicit or explicit. I shall return later to the ideological question of John Locke's social contract (Aaron, 1955, pp. 272-3). Suffice it to say at this point that the contractual basis of social exchange theory is not at all contingent upon an acceptance of the liberal, positivist rationalist view of the individual entering into a compact with the state. Social exchange theory sees the organization as being an inter-meshing of obligations and counter-obligations, explicit and implicit, individual and collective. Mauss (1966) puts the position nicely when he says, "The individual must work and be made to rely more upon himself than on others. From another angle he must defend his group's interest as well as his own. Communism and too much generosity is as harmful to him and to society as the selfishness of our contemporaries and the individualism of our laws" (p.67). Too much generosity makes it impossible for others to reciprocate, leading to resentfulness and/or powerlessness. Too much individualism leads to the breakdown of the organism and its ultimate destruction. The western world in 1981, suffers more from the latter disease than the former. The greater the insistence on rights, the greater the demand for individual freedom, the less the recognition of obligations, the less the acceptance of external norms and controls, then the more difficult it becomes for a social organization to survive. That is not, I believe, a statement of dogma or ideology but of logical necessity. If a man demands his conjugal rights and the obedience of his children but acknowledges no obligation to his wife and children in return, can the marriage last?

Figure 2

Categories of Contractual Obligation Within a Social Organization

	Individual	Collective
Explicit	A	B
Implicit	C	D

Figure 2 shows four types of contractual obligation. It is not suggested that organizations can be neatly classified into the four categories--most organizations exhibit characteristics of more than one type. However, it is argued that emphasis within the two dimensions of the figure will lead to different consequences. Contractual obligations are either individual or collective.[4] Individual contracts are dyadic--husband/wife, father/son, teacher/pupil. Collective contracts are found when the individual participates in and shares the values and norms, to some extent, of an organization. Contractual obligations are also either explicit or implicit. Explicit contracts are codified, usually written. Implicit contracts are understood, rarely spoken. Pupil attendance is normally explicit; addressing a teacher when there is a chance meeting outside class or school is normally implicit.

Table I

Examples, Characteristics and Implications of the Different Categories of Contractual Obligation

	Example	Characteristics	Implications for the School
A.	Correspondence school	individual contracts with other individuals or the organization itself	no solidarity; no genuine or spontaneous rewards; rewards likely to be extrinsic; contract easily broken or extrinsic rewards unreliable or low in value
B.	Automated factory	work to rule; no room for genuine gift; little emphasis on intrinsic rewards	likely emphasis on easily measured skills; little mingling; solidarity only among classes; (e.g. foremen versus workers; management versus foremen)
C.	Bridge club	informal relationships; fluid membership; heavy emphasis on intrinsic rewards	incompatible with a large bureaucracy and compulsory membership
D.	Private, religious school	informal commitment to common goals; great solidarity; emphasis on both extrinsic and intrinsic rewards	only possible where there is some consensual commitment to common goals and values

In Table I, the probable consequences of the adoption of one of the four possible dominant, combinations of social exchange are laid out. I am not suggesting that administrators have the luxury of choice from the four types. Circumstances may reduce or eliminate any real choice. Usually, however, it is possible to push in one direction rather than in another.

Type A is sometimes found in the school, usually within special education classes. Some special education teachers set up individual contracts with all members of the class. Several unusual factors frequently contribute to the success of this arrangement. In the first place, external pressure and prejudice help reinforce the island of solidarity in the segregated class, provided of course the members see themselves as achieving success and having some self-esteem. Secondly, such classes are small enough to permit a good teacher to operate on a dyadic, contractual basis. It would not be feasible to adapt this system to a large secondary school, where the average teacher would have to operate 150 rather than 12 dyadic contracts and where the universality of extrinsic rewards is vitally important for graduation and university entrance.

Type B is an increasingly common pattern, particularly in school systems where teachers are highly unionized. Teachers have increasingly detailed contracts prescribing the number of pupils contacts, the number of preparations, their minutes of supervisory duty and the minutes of instruction. The more the contractual mode is carried over to the instructional process, the less room there is for social exchange outside the limits of the explicit contract. The student has a right to so many minutes of instruction and so many minutes of help after school--the student is likely to get the allocated amount, but no more. The work to rule syndrome becomes at least as much a part of the students' lives as the teacher's. Ironically, teachers bound tight by contractual agreements are often irritated by students who are uninterested in the joy of learning and are hungering greedily for the marks to which they believe they are entitled.

Type C is the informal, social organization that can afford a variety of social arrangements precisely because little is prescribed. Informal organizations of this kind are characterized in the following ways: members vary from being highly active to being almost inactive; members give varying amounts of money, time, leadership, social support and prestige; they receive principally intrinsic rewards of pleasure, respect and achievement, but also occasionally extrinsic rewards, in the form of social prestige, business arrangements, etc.; membership is always voluntary and often restricted, by religion, money, sex, or social status. Obviously, the compulsory public school cannot possibly operate on this model. Free schools, which became popular in the 60s, tried to follow this model and a few still exist today. The central problem is that even free school supporters tend to expect attendance and participation to result in the possibility of movement to college or university or to some type of employment. Here we run into conflict with the central distributive function of the school, which assumes normative sets of standards of behavior and achievement, standards that are incompatible with an informal association surviving only by implied and individualistic obligations. This does not of course mean that it is impossible to pass from a free school to university, merely that the free school must either adopt some of the norms of the regular public school or doom its members to quixotic and surprising decisions by universities and colleges.

Type D is the informal organization within which there are collective obligations. It is said that the Church of England is an ideal faith because it does not interfere in any way with one's religion. The organization of the Anglican parish then is perhaps of type C. However, some religions require a greater amount of collective obligation--the Roman Catholic church perhaps, and the Parti Québecois in Quebec. Membership in most political and religious groups does not normally require explicit contractual relationships of a very high order but there are clearly established norms of behavior. Private and religious schools generally fall into category D. A high level of solidarity frequently results. There is much room for intrinsic rewards and genuine, spontaneous social exchange is easily brought about. However, the more formal the organization and the greater the collective aspects of the contract the more likely it is there will be reliance on extrinsic rewards as well. In order for a type D organization to survive, there must either be an extremely high level of moral commitment or a reasonably high level of extrinsic rewards as well as intrinsic.

Let us turn now to the administrator concerned to improve the effectiveness of the public school. Intrinsic, extrinsic and unilateral incentives are available. In the increasingly common type B situation, intrinsic and unilateral incentives are quite limited. That is not to say that enjoyment of learning is impossible within an explicit, contractual environment. The good teacher will certainly develop intrinsic interest among pupils, even though the rewards and social exchanges are contractually limited. However, the teacher who demonstrates his love of Shakespeare and his interest in the students by making arrangements for a class trip to Stratford's Shakespeare Festival during the summer vacation is more likely to arouse intrinsic interest and social solidarity than the teacher who arranges to rent a film for an extended peiod during his allocated instructional minutes. It is not that all teachers in an explicit, contractual mode suddenly determine that they do not want to help students--rather is it the opportunities for help outside the contractual terms become legally or socially limited. Unilateral incentives are limited by the simple fact that attendance at school is compulsory and therefore it is very difficult to enforce anything beyond attendance, except by the contradictory threat of expulsion. Physical compulsion is not feasible in the contemporary western world, whether or not it is desirable. There is no suggestion here that the threat of suspension or expulsion is empty. Quite the contrary, it is by far the most potent sanction available to the school. Beyond that, I have argued (Holmes, 1980 b) that the more a sanction is used the less it is respected. Thus I am not suggesting that the frequent use of suspension and expulsion is desirable or that it would make for much less reliance on other incentives. I am pointing out that there is an obvious legal limitation on its use in current circumstances. Administrators are understandably loth to specify standards of achievement, types of instruction, and types of acceptable behavior in contractual terms if they fear the final erosion of any type D sentiment.

In contrast, in the type D situation, administrators have the comparatively easy task of promoting greater solidarity, associated with the legitimate functions and purposes of the school, by emphasizing opportunities for social exchange. The danger here is that the social exchange becomes an end in itself and the school's purposes become forgotten. A whirl of class outings, band trips, dramatic productions, parent programs and social involvement provides high solidarity, a high level of intrinsic rewards, reinforcing social exchanges, but little contribution to some of the school's major purposes. The opportunity must be taken therefore, in school assemblies, graduation exercises and so on, to reaffirm the importance of rewards for scholastic achievement if major goal displacement is not to occur. The more one emphasizes intrinsic rewards with a mass population of greatly varied academic ability, the more one is likely to avoid the academic disciplines. In that sense, and perhaps that sense alone, the type B school is at an advantage.If written rules are to govern the entire operation of the school, then at least they can be written to guarantee major emphasis on the explicit, openly derived goals. Written rules of that kind can receive a public legitimacy greater than that granted rules about minimum and maximum class size and instructional minutes. In contrast, social organizations that rely heavily on implicit contracts and voluntary compliance are always likely to be drifting towards those activities that provide the most immediate and obvious rewards.

One other danger of the type D situation needs to be mentioned. The greater the bonds of social exchange, the less possible is it for an individual to diverge. In a sense, that is good. In order to bring about school control, the administrator wants to ensure that social bonds and norms eliminate or at least reduce deviant behavior on the part of students, and on the part of teachers. However, freedom tends to be a part of that deviant behavior and so it becomes just as difficult for the teacher to do something excitingly different as it is for the teacher to fail to fulfil moral obligations to the remainder of the staff or the students. Beyond that, if administrators themselves become closely bound as part of the social exchange network then their freedom is equally limited. Frequently, this means that the administrator cannot reprimand a teacher or even a student on account of the law of equivalence. In contrast, in a type B situation the administrator is only bound by the written rules of reciprocity and they are likely to include a provision for reprimands in stated circumstances. It is not surprising therefore that administrators in type D situations frequently hold themselves somewhat aloof from the social intercourse of the school even as they are strongly encouraging it among others. They cannot afford to be given too many gifts. The adroit administrator manages to categorize different arenas. In one arena, the administrator may be a full participant in the social exchange--for example, on the staff's weekly bowling night. Yet in the classroom, when evaluating the teacher, too much reference to the bowling and to other social activities is likely to be frowned upon.

As few schools are pure type B or pure type D, then it becomes important for the administrator to understand the ways in which the two types operate. It is important for the administrator to know when to use explicit and when implicit obligations, when to encourage extrinsic rewards and when intrinsic, and how best to develop a complex, interlocking net of social exchanges that will provide solidarity and yet still permit some possibilities for positive change and leave the administrator free to carry out some functions of authority.

In general, the greater the degree of consensus about a policy matter the less the need for explicit recognition. Thus, traditionally, male and female roles in the family were clearly understood but rarely written. There was no need for contractual agreements. By the same token, there was ample room for gifts from husband to wife and wife to husband. The lack of written rules made it easy for the husband to "give" to his wife help with washing the dishes or caring for the children. As sex roles change, marriage contracts become more common. The more detailed the contracts, the less possible it is for either side to provide gifts. To be sure, the individual can always do work that is contractually someone else's and that is certainly an extremely potent gift. Yet, in practice, the writing of contractual obligations seems to work against that kind of gift. Far more likely is the war about boundaries. There are also likely to be problems for the administrator who does work for some individuals but not for others. A major reason for demanding the written contract is precisely to reduce administrative discretion. It is possible, if unlikely, that the husband will do some work that is, according to the written contract, his wife's. It is highly unlikely that a factory foreman in a highly unionized factory will do some of the work a member of the union.

Increasingly, modern households have rotas of duties for members of the family. Similarly, modern schools increasingly detail rules for the allocation of jobs and salaries among teachers and obligations and marks among students. It is unrealistic, in my view, to believe that this trend can be reversed. Indeed, the proliferation of written rules may be the only way to counter the proliferation of boundary disputes. Written rules very frequently result precisely because there is a lack of consensus and they may well be the best cure. That said, if the rules can be written with some degree of flexibility in a harmonious, cooperative, consensual atmosphere they will create much less problem for all parties than if they are incredibly detailed. The detailed rule inevitably creates inflexibility and its own kind of unfairness.

It must be recognized that the greater the number of explicit, contractual social exchanges the less the power of the superordinate. The more rights with respect to treatment given students, the less discretionary power adhering to teachers; the more detailed the teachers' contract, the less power in the hands of principals and superintendents. If solidarity and social exchange is to be promoted, therefore, two avenues remain open. The superordinate can break the contract in favor of the subordinates, remembering that contracts frequently broken no longer remain in force; and the superordinate can provide gifts outside the terms of the explicit contract. Even then, today's gifts can be tomorrow's demands. If eating out is not an item in the marriage contract, the wife can give her husband an occasional meal out on the town. By the same token, if extra-curricular activities are not contractually limited, the teachers can give students extra-curricular programs. If social exchange is to have a powerful solidary effect, the gifts must not be charitable. The powerful, charismatic leader who gives far more than can ever be returned may well build up a devoted following but is likely to create at the same time a kernel of opposition from those who renounce the gifts and hate the giver. There must always be opportunities for the return of the equivalence. It is better to give than to receive, and the poor recipient knows that better than anybody else. The administrator in the type D school is in a very delicate situation. The greater the solidarity among teachers, the more powerful will be the teachers in confronting the administrator. The greater the solidarity among students, the greater power to their potential rebellion against the teachers. The more social exchange the administrator develops in association with teachers, the more difficult it will be to carry out control functions. On the other hand, the restriction of social exchange to that which is contractual, work to rule, is likely to lead to low morale, low self-concept and lack of productivity.

A type B situation is inimical to much that is educative--the spontaneous pursuit of learning; aesthetic appreciation; expressive enjoyment. Yet a type D situation is not possible in the complex, contemporary setting of many public schools. The administrator who understands most clearly when explicit contractual statements are necessary or desirable and when they should be avoided will be in a good position to further the system's educational objectives. Realistically, if we assume a continuing lack of consensus on numerous controversial questions, school administrators must work for hybrid type B-type D situations. Much must be written but there must be many opportunities remaining for other types of social exchange.

Rutter (1979) serves the first two themes of this paper to some degree. Essentially an input-output study, 15000 Hours also involves day to day observation of schools. It does not adopt a social exchange viewpoint but it nevertheless becomes clear that positive academic and social outcomes are associated with high levels of social exchange, providing always that the superordinate (principal vis-à-vis teachers, teacher vis-à-vis students) is sufficiently free from obligations to make important decisions related to the achievement of the school's major goals. The most successful schools in Rutter's study are characterized by both explicit and implicit emphasis on the school's major goals and by student involvement in the achievement of those goals.

Wynne (1980) takes a more jaundiced view of the contemporary American school, adopting an essentially ethnographic methodology as his starting point. He attributes the breakdown of law and order in so many American schools, which he painstakingly elaborates, to a number of factors, notably including a lack of clear, explicit rules of conduct and standards of work. Religious schools, he finds, are suffering less than state and (American) private schools. This is consistent with my categorization of type D schools. Type B schools, in contrast, tend to have fewer rules and regulations, together with a more noticeable lack of standards, when, according to my analysis, they are precisely the ones in most need of them. If there are strong consensual norms, rules are less necessary and may be counter productive, but in the absence of such norms carefully elaborated explicit contractual arrangements are necessary. Thus I would predict anarchy in a school that lacked consensual norms and respect for traditional authority and lacked, at the same time, a clear and explicit set of rules procedures, rewards and sanctions.

Wynne develops his argument within an ideological framework. He argues that the contemporary emphasis on so-called freedom and democracy has led, in fact, to less freedom and less democracy. He argues that there is clear evidence that most parents do not want their children subjected to the violence, drugs and absence of standards of any of today's American schools. It is from that context that it is appropriate to turn to the third theme of this paper.

An Ideological Framework for School Control

The Place of an Ideological Framework

It may seem strange to the reader that the why of school control should be left to the end. It might seem more reasonable to begin with purposes and then continue to the content and method. After all, it is not being argued that either administration itself or the study of administration can be value free. Even ethnographic research needs some framework, some Gestalt to give it meaning; if it is insufficiently or unsatisfactorily provided by the researcher we may be sure the lack will be satisfied by the reader.

Most administrative research in education falls into one of four ideological categories (or some combination). Early input-output studies assumed schools were working within a capitalist economy and this reflected a laissez-faire ideology, dating from 19th century liberal radicalism, often termed neo-conservatism today. The dominant ideology today is the liberal progressive idea, itself a hybrid of Marxist class theory and liberal individualism. Hollingshead (1949) and Havighurst et al. (1966) exemplify this tradition as they study how schools work in the community. Most western theories of organizations assume ideals of liberal democracy, which is one of the essential complaints about research and organizations by ethnomethodologists, who are often unprepared to make what they see as capitalist assumptions. Thus Willis (1977) takes a quite extreme Marxist position in his ethnography and Byrne, Williamson and Fletcher (1975) try to show that inequality of educational opportunity in Britain today stems from barriers of class far more than from barriers of attitudes or economics.

It is the dominant liberal progressive ideology that this paper confronts most directly, as neither the laissez-faire nor the Marxist explanation of reality receives much serious administrative acceptance in Canada today.

The Coleman (1966) story best exemplifies the problems of the liberal progressive mindset. Coleman claimed to have discovered that schools have very little differential effect on students compared with the effect of their home backgrounds. As we have seen, that claim has been closely examined and found to be wanting in a number of important respects. However, forgotten in the controversy is the fact that Coleman's huge research project was embarked upon in order to show that racial differences in achievement in the USA could be attributed to differences in the degree of educational support. Unfortunately for the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (whose successors face massive cutbacks in the cold light of 1981), Coleman found no such thing. Racial differences appeared to be independent of economic causes--achievement was not related to school funding and physical supplies.[5] That finding did not lead Coleman to recommend that federal funding for education be abandoned as a means of bringing about social and educational equality. Rather, it brought him, and other liberal apologists, to redefine equality of opportunity as meaning equality of outcomes among groups (Coleman 1968, p. 22), thus at one time masking the negative implications of his findings and making a major purpose of education the bringing about of social equality. Coleman's work has had, of course, despite its major limitations, an enormous influence on subsequent input-output studies and on education and its administration. Thus it has become commonplace to accept that the purpose of equality of educational opportunity is the provision of social equality, when it would be equally persuasive to argue that the justification for equality of educational opportunity is one of equity and social justice, with social equality being an irrelevant issue. In fact, there seems to be no self-evident reason why every social group should produce the same number of doctors and the same number of politicians and the same number of farmers but every reason to give every individual person an equal chance insofar as the provisions of society will permit.

I am arguing then that there must be ideological assumptions underlying any conceptualization of school control. Administrative effectiveness is meaningless unless one asks the corollary--administration to effect what ends? Input-output studies were discussed in something of an ideological vacuum--not because I believe that the studies were or could be free of ideological assumptions but because it seemed useful to have the reader examine the input-output conceptualization before making a hard choice of ideologies. Similarly, the school as a social conception necessarily involves an ideological framework--even if that framework, as with Cusik's symbolic interactionist approach, is nominally value free (Cusick,1973). After all, to assert that school behavior has meaning largely in terms of its local context is no more self-evidently true than to assert that school behavior can only be explained in terms of class conflict in the larger society.

However, even though implicit or explicit ideological assumptions are necessary prerequisites of a study of school control, it does not follow that all such studies must flow in a straightforward fashion from a preconceived ideological bent. It was for that reason that I chose to examine the nature of input-output concepts, and their implications for administration and the nature of social exchange in the context of the school before formally addressing the question of the ideological assumptions that underlie my approach. There will be those, I anticipate, who will find parts of the first two views of the school context useful but who will not share the ideological bridge that I construct between them. Why then provide a bridge at all? The bridge is necessary because it makes little sense for an administrator to administer anything without sharing a sense of its goals; still less does it make sense to administer schools without concern for the purposes to which the control is directed. It would be overly naive for me to assume that the assumptions underlying my first two views of the school are consensually accepted and not worth closer scrutiny.

The Social Contract

At first sight, it might appear that social exchange is predicated on laissez-faire assumptions or at least liberal progressive ideas about individual freedom. Surely, one may think, the basis of the social contract is the understanding that the individual gives up some basic rights in return for some protection from the state. In the school, the comparable argument would be that the pupil hands over some freedom in return for some conditions for learning.

Certainly it is possible to interpret the social contract in those terms--and it is frequently done. However, that interpretation makes nonsense of the anthropological ideas on social exchange. The interpretation would have us assume that individuals are constantly on the look out for their fair return. Quite the reverse is frequently the case. The gift can be the means of showing wealth and influence, charity a means of demonstrating powerlessness on the part of those who must receive. What is more humiliating than to receive a gift one cannot hope to return, to have a loan forgiven, to receive kindness from an enemy? There are ceremonies and exchanges within primitive and modern societies that show that social exchange is far more than a simple contractual exchange between two free individuals.

John Locke was indeed a liberal rationalist, believing that good and evil are nothing but pleasure and pain (1894, p.474). Yet even he made two important concessions that make his social contract less simply liberal than is often believed. Firstly, he accepted three kinds of law that could define good and evil--civil, opinion or reputation and what he calls divine law. Although he speaks little of divine law, his tacit acceptance of some sense of absolute contradicts a purely rationalist view of human behavior. Secondly, Aaron (1955) suggests that, for Locke, the contract is less a contract between two people than it is a trust on all members of society (pp.272-273). Thus even Locke is not in complete disagreement with the structural functionalists who see social exchange as a significant aspect of social structure, not premised in any way on any belief in the individual's inalienable rights and freedoms. For them the function of any social usage "consists of the contribution which it makes to the 'proper' or 'essential' activity of the social system" (Radcliffe-Brown, p. 154). Thus social exchange can more appropriately be seen as part of the traditional functioning of a society, a fabric that is passed on by usage from generation to generation with much of its symbolism not fully understood by the users. Thus the current emphasis on children's rights, parents' rights and teachers' rights is the very antithesis of a traditional pattern of social exchange that is built up by years of social understanding. I have suggested that the specification of detailed rights and obligations will help to obliterate the traditional functions of social exchange and weaken the bonds among an organization's members.

Freedom and Order

It makes little sense to discuss school control without addressing the problem of freedom. Individual freedom is an important value, even though it is not necessarily given precedence in Canada, whose society is based on peace, order and good government rather than liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Paradoxically, control may be a condition for freedom, and not only because law and order is the only environment in which the arts and the mind can flourish. More essentially, freedom logically necessitates choice, and choice is dependent upon limiting conditions. Hence it is not only a mindless cliché to suggest that teenagers need something to rebel against. If there are no rules in mathematics, there are no roots for creative new thought. If there is no vocabulary in language, there is no possibility for its enhancement and felicitous use. In this sense, it is not surprising that many writers have seen crime (or evil behavior) as important symptoms of freedom. In Walden Two, there will be no crime, and no freedom. Dostoyevski, Graham Greene and Anthony Burgess have all explored this frightening theme.

Advocates of freedom are not necessarily permissively accepting mindless violence, but it is not surprising that child pornography (as in the film Pretty Baby) and the glorification of violence (as in Bonnie and Clyde and the Clockwork Orange) are central to arguments about censorship. Similarly, the discussion of control in school does not necessarily mean rigid codes of behavior, but it is illogical to conceive of a school that does not try, directly or indirectly, to influence and ultimately control behavior. By definition, the school is in the business of changing or trying to change behavior. The question is not whether the school limits freedom but which particular range of activities it permits and encourages and which range it condones or forbids.

Burke's commentary on France's revolutionary government are applicable here. "I should therefore suspend my congratulations on the new liberty of France, until I was informed how it had been combined with government; with public force; with the discipline and obedience of armies; with the collection of an effective and well distributed revenue; with morality and religion;

with the solidity of property; with peace and order; with civil and social manners. All these (in their way) are good things too; and, without them, liberty is not a benefit whilst it lasts, and is not likely to continue long. The effect of liberty to individuals is, that they may do what they please: we ought to see what it will please them to do, before we risk congratulations, which may be soon turned into complaints." (Burke, 1960, pp. 345-6) Before we decide that freedom is the major aim of the school (a simple contradiction in terms in any case), we should see what it pleases young people to do with the freedom. Burke goes on to discuss the distinction between human rights and human wants, concluding that "no man should be judge in his own cause" (p.370). Although the learner is entitled to certain gifts from the school, and must give something in return, the learner's freedom to advance his own cause against others' ceases once he becomes a part of the social contract under the civil government of the school. This is not a question of five-year-old children making implicit or explicit social contracts; it is rather a generalized, consensual understanding of how social institutions work. It is only in recent years that people have been led to believe, led by ideologists in government and in academia, that individuals and groups have whole sets of rights that are not balanced by obligations and responsibilities. As I noted earlier, the greater the consensus, the less the need for explicit contractual agreements. The greater the dissension about what the school stands for and how it should operate, the greater the need for explicit, written policies.

Order, good government and control are all necessary bases for the operation of a successful school. Indeed, no organization can operate smoothly without norms, rules, common values and consensual purposes. The administrator who believes freedom can be substituted for order, and autonomy for responsibility, will also believe that physics will substitute for mathematics, when in fact the former set is dependent on the latter. Freedom to learn is indistinguishable from freedom from learning, just as freedom to do good is inseparable from freedom to commit evil. The question in the school then is not how to provide the greatest amount of freedom--nothing could be easier. The question is how to provide control that will lead to the development of knowledge and wisdom which, when attained, may be used for freely chosen actions in the pursuit of good.

A Conservative View of Good

I have described in some detail elsewhere the five properties that I consider basic to education for the good in contemporary society (Holmes 1980 a). Briefly, they are the pursuit of truth; excellence and quality; individual responsibility; culture and community; and educational breadth. Obviously then, I am suggesting that the good I see as an aim of schooling is not based on purely relativistic principles of pain and pleasure. I have been criticized by Nyberg (1981) for drawing good from tradition. He argues that tradition consists as much of torture and murder as of truth and beauty. Scruton (1980) speaks to that point when he notes that the traditions selected by the conservative must satisfy two criteria: they must have a successful history; and "they must engage the loyalty of their participants, in the deep sense of molding their idea of what they are and should be" (p. 42).

Just as success in school demands failure, so a definition of good demands a definition of bad. The role of punishment is crucial here. "The reason for his punishment lies in what he does . . . punishment does not seek to address a wrong . . . but to express and propitiate outrage" (Scruton, 1980, p. 82). In contrast, "humanitarianism is a sign of unwillingness to take full responsibility for the offices of state, while enjoying the advantages which stem from them" (p.83). Thus the permissive administrator is failing to fulfil one of the foremost roles of the school authority--to define the bounds of acceptable behavior and to move young people in its control closer to the pursuit of truth. That means rewarding and encouraging good behavior and defining and punishing bad behavior. Scruton and the structural functionalists would agree that reward and punishment serve to establish the boundaries of good and evil. They do not agree on whether or not good is relative. The position taken here of course is that good is not just a product of the pleasure principle. Nevertheless, to those relativists who cannot accept that part of the argument, I would still appeal by asking them to examine carefully the outcomes of the input-output studies and the goals of a radical conservative education to discover how much neo-Platonists and many relativists have in common.

Conclusion

I have taken three snapshots of the school in this paper. I began by examining some of the relationships between the inputs to schooling, particularly those amenable to administrative control, and the outputs in changed behavior of its students. I cautioned that the constant effect of the schools within a given society should not be overlooked just because it is constant; because it is not subject to empirical research and because its effects are difficult to separate even conceptually from the influence of society at large. I next examined social exchange and its general applicability to the school. Social exchange is a useful conception for the administrator because it lies at the root of all social interaction. It does not assume a particular kind of psychological motivation; pretending that one type is appropriate another inappropriate or ineffective. Social exchange categorizes the different types of social intercourse and helps explain how they can be developed to provide social solidarity. The juxtaposition of social exchange to the input-output studies is important because social exchange by itself can be used to justify the perpetuation of the status quo; or to show the inevitable class conflict between the capitalist rich and the proletarian poor; or to suggest that human behavior has no meaning beyond its immediate context and symbolism. Social exchange theory is a useful tool for understanding but that understanding can be placed in numerous frameworks and can be used for the attainment of very different ends.

The third view is intended to link the first two views--to examine some of the oughts of educational administration--to provide a basis of law and order, to encourage the pursuit of truth and the good and to see the constraints of control and freedom. The conceptualization provided is conservative in the sense that it sees the central purpose of schooling as being the conservation of what is good in our cultural traditions, and those traditions are as much rooted in a search for future truth as in time worn conceptions.

Is there a contradiction between Hayes' existential lament and my neo-Platonist conclusion? Perhaps. Yet Hayes belies existential despair when he suggests we must find out before it is too late why we're hung here. That at least opens the door to there being a reason. Too many administrators, following the fashionable advice to be brokers, thereby believing that nothing will come of organizational theory and that administration has no grounded purpose other than to perpetuate itself, turn too late to discover why they are hung here. This paper suggests there are legitimate and respectable purposes, provided we discard the trendy, libertarian dross, and there are empirical avenues and sociological understandings that can be pursued in their search.

NOTES

[1] There is a fine line to be drawn between the custodial function and some of the less easily identifiable social, emotional, moral and aesthetic functions. I do not consider custodial care to be simply a negative characteristic (freedom from moral or physical danger). Custodial care includes the activities of the school in loco parentis, activities that are obviously educational if we define the term broadly.

[2] For an excellent discussion of these problems see Reynolds and Sullivan (1979).

[3] I would argue that grade repetition serves at least two important but rarely stated functions: it serves as an incentive and reminder to others; and it reduces slightly the range of achievement in a particular class. Even if a child is "socially promoted," the child lies outside the norm or expectations for the class and is thus less of a threat to the self-esteem of the receiving teacher. Thus one must be careful about abandoning social practices just because their overt justification is irrational.

[4] There are in fact three logical possibilities: dyadic; individual-group and group-group (e.g. two hockey teams). The last possibility is not strictly relevant to the major purpose of this paper although group-group social exchanges are certainly important to the development of school solidarity. For the purposes of this essay, the last category is subsumed in individual-group, of which it is a special type.

[5] It was not just naivety that made Coleman concentrate on physical factors as components of education. It was precisely the physical factors that the burgeoning federal bureaucracy was hoping to supply.

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THE POLITICS OF ORGANIZATIONAL REFORM: AN EXPLORATORY STUDY OF THE EFFECTS OF CORPORATE MANAGEMENT ON SELECTED ASPECTS OF THE EDUCATION SERVICE IN ENGLISH LOCAL GOVERNMENT

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Introduction

In the recent past the Government of the United Kingdom reformed local government in England by an Act of Parliament. The reform was both external and internal in nature. The external reform brought about changes in the structure and functions of local government whereas the internal reform sought to alter the approach to management and governance by instituting a theoretically attractive concept called corporate planning and management. The reforms came about after lengthy consultation and study by Royal Commissions and special committees. The pivotal date for putting the changes in place was 1974.

Since 1974, then, local government in England has been dramatically changed. This large scale attempt at innovation and change has provided a unique opportunity to study the effects of planned change in significant public organizations which, day by day, affect the lives of vast numbers of people. It has provided the opportunity to ask some important questions. What was the nature of the reform? Why did it occur? What are some of the outcomes, especially in relation to policy making in the education service?

This paper reports my efforts to study selected aspects of the reform of local government in England. In what follows I have attempted first, to describe the nature of the external and internal reforms. Then I report a study of the effects of the move to corporate management or certain aspects of the education service in one of the English counties and compare the conclusions of this case study with those of an earlier study. Finally, using some theoretical perspectives, I speculate on why the internal reform --the institution of corporate management--turned out the way it appears to have turned out and why it seems to have had particular effects on the education service. I have been particularly interested in what one might call the "politics" of the reform and its effects.

Local Government Reorganization: The External Reform

Prior to 1974 the whole of England, with the exception of London, had two types of local government. A given geographic area was either a county or a county borough. A county borough, relatively speaking, was a simple system in that it was an area under a single level of local government, the county borough council. By contrast, the county was a more complex system in that it had two or three levels of local government.

By the middle of the 20th Century numerous problems existed in relation to the traditional system. For example, some areas were too small geographically and in terms of population to perform various local government functions either effectively or efficiently. The idea was commonly held that for technical reasons specialized services require larger and larger areas if efficiency is to accrue to clients. Problems arose because spatial patterns of communities changed over time. For example, huge conglomerations of people and services were becoming features of the local government environment, but outside London this form of spatial community went unrecognized.

During the first half of the twentieth century, in spite of the emergence of problems such as those referred to above and in spite of the growing power of central government intervention, few changes took place in local government boundaries, powers, constitutional status or financial base. Those changes which did occur as a result of national government action were merely administrative and consolidating measures. As Hill says, "They did not change the existing dual organization of town and county, or the ways in which local authorities provided for the needs of their areas...." (p. 187).

In the 1950s a move to reform local government began. This movement culminated in 1958 with the passage in Westminster of The Local Government Act. This Act set up three commissions to study the problems and make recommendations for action to Parliament. One was a Commission for Wales, one for England, and one for London. The only one of these to complete its task was the Royal Commission on London, the Herbert Commission. The other two disappeared in 1965 when the Labour Government appointed two Royal Commissions on Local Government, one for Scotland, the other for England. The latter was headed by Lord Redcliffe-Maud and reported to Parliament in 1969. The terms of reference were

> ... to consider the structure of Local Government in England, outside Greater London, in relation to its existing functions; and to make recommendations for authorities and boundaries, and for functions and their division, having regard to the size and character of areas in which these can be most effectively exercised and the need to sustain a viable system of local democracy.

The specific weaknesses which gave rise to the need for the Commission were: (1) shared functions and delegation in a two-tier system of local government caused conflict and delay; (2) the division between the town and county restricted some very important local government functions (e.g. planning); (3) the smallness of some authorities made them ineffective in the delivery of some services; (4) the inflexibility of the existing structure made boundary changes virtually impossible; (5) there was little enthusiasm for local government as an institution, even though it provided a wide range of important services and was costly.

The Redcliffe-Maud Commission Report analyzed four key factors which were considered to be relevant to the reform of local government. There was the question of boundaries which had been made obsolete by a highly mobile population. There was also the question of what is meant by "effective and convenient" local democracy. "Effective could be defined as efficient, merely workable, or as meeting popular (not necessarily right) demands." (Hill, p. 190) Furthermore, the definition of a viable system of local democracy was also ambiguous. It depended on whose point of view was taken and what degree of popular control was thought necessary and desirable. And finally, the effectiveness and viability criteria had to cover all services and take into account local government work as a collectivity.

Having identified what they considered to be the weaknesses of the traditional system, the Redcliffe-Maud Commission made recommendations for change. The main recommendation of the majority of members of the Royal Commission was that the concept of unitary authority prevail--an all-purpose local government encompassing in each case both town and country. The population of each authority was to be between 250,000 and one million. This majority recommendation was defended on the basis of particular meanings of the terms 'democracy' and 'efficiency'.

Efficiency was to be obtained by means of the single council responsible for the allocation of resources. And the potential for efficiency would be enhanced because the single or unitary council would also be responsible for the coordination and supervision of service provisions. Democracy was possible because, presumably, this was a structure which would be relatively easily understood by the public and it would be one with which they could easily identify. Furthermore, according to Wood, councils would be called upon to take definite choices and be held directly accountable for their ability to deliver successfully the various services. (p. 64)

The move to what can be referred to as town and country cohesion addressed a traditional structural weakness in the system. That is, from a geographic perspective, not only was the concept of democracy served because town and country were made into cohesive units, but the cohesion reflected the technical needs of planning and transportation services. The recommendation on population size was also said to serve the interests of both democracy and efficiency "because all councils would have sufficient resources but none would be too large as to be inaccessible, remote or unmanageable." (Wood, p. 64)

In the final analysis, the Redcliffe-Maud recommendations called for 58 unitary all-purpose authorities. Also there were to be three metropolitan areas (conurbations) which included 20 second-tier metropolitan districts. In addition, of course, there was the Greater London Council and its 33 borough councils.

The Labour Party was in power when the Redcliffe-Maud Commission submitted its Report in 1969. The Government prepared a White Paper entitled "Reform of Local Government in England" (1970) in response to the recommendations. The White Paper followed rather closely the Commission's proposals. It was meant to form the basis for legislation after the Government had received responses from the various interest groups. The Labour Government did not get the opportunity to prepare legislation based on its White Paper. In 1970 the Conservatives came to power. By 1971 they had prepared their own White Paper entitled "Local Government in England." (1971)

The Conservative Government was opposed to the main Redcliffe-Maud proposal--unitary, all-purpose authorities. Rather, they favoured a two-tier authority model in two variations. In the conurbations, their views resembled the Labour Government's metropolitan area - metropolitan districts proposal. Otherwise the top tier was to be based on the traditional shire county concept. And the districts in the counties were to be based on existing districts wherever possible. Additional points made by the Conservative White Paper were these:

(1) The weaknesses in the traditional system as put forward by Redcliffe-Maud were accepted. However, emphasis was placed on the evolution of a new structure building on the present system rather than a radical change.

(2) The population size criterion was also accepted for authorities providing major services (250,000 - 1 million).

(3) The concept of metropolitan counties was accepted and extended.

(4) The concept of the need to merge town and country was also accepted.

The basis on which the conservatives rejected the unitary, all-purpose authority model was the argument that some services require large administrative units but some do not. In any event, it set out to give closely-linked services to the same level of local authority. For example, education, housing and town and country planning were to be the responsibility of the metropolitan districts as opposed to the metropolitan counties. Housing and planning were to be divided between the two levels. The principle involved was that plan-making was to go on at the top level and development control at the second level. In practice, these functions are not easily separated.

In 1972 the Conservative Government passed the Local Government Act and a new system of local government was created. The new system became operational on April 1, 1974. The actual reorganization which took place between 1972 and 1974 created, outside Greater London, a system which draws a distinction between the largest urban areas, the conurbations, and the rest of the country. In each conurbation there is a metropolitan county council which has responsibility for specified functions over the whole area. In addition there are in each metropolitan county a number of district councils. They are responsible for the bulk of local government activities. The metropolitan district councils serve relatively large populations--200,000 to 1 million.

Throughout the rest of England the system is quite different. It is divided into non-metropolitan counties which are a mixture of two- and three-tier local government. The major part of the responsibility of local government is under the aegis of the area-wide authority, the County Council. At the second level there is responsibility for some substantial activities. At the third level, where such exists, responsibility is for minor permissive powers of various kinds. (Stanyer, Chapter 2). The new structure is depicted in Figure 1 (below).

Insert Figure 1 here

The Local Government Act of 1972 reduced the number of local education

Level of Local Government	England: non-metropolitan areas	England: metropolitan areas	Greater London
First tier	non-metropolitan county councils 39	metropolitan county councils 6	greater London council 1
Second tier	non-metropolitan district councils 296	metropolitan district councils 36	greater London borough councils 33
Third tier	parish councils (in some districts only)	none	none

Figure 1. The structure of local government in England from April 1, 1974 (Stanyer).

authorities in England from 145 to 96. The new LEA's were constituted of 36 metropolitan districts, 39 non-metropolitan counties, 20 London boroughs and the Inner London Education Authority (which covers 13 London boroughs). "Extremes of population and taxable wealth had been reduced while creating larger, more self-contained and stronger authorities. This was all to the benefit of Education and its administration at the local level because the reorganization rationalized the service within the jurisdictions." (Jennings, 1978, p. 4) At the very time local government, particularly local education authorities, were being strengthened in terms outlined above, another change was occurring which was to have very significant effects on the new education service. This change has the so-called internal reorganization and reform of management structures and processes known as corporate planning and management. The next section deals with that change.

Internal Reform: The Move to Corporate Management

At the same time that the national government was addressing the question of what I have called the external reform of the system of local government in England, it was also addressing the question of what can be called internal reform. Since the mid-1960's there were two committee reports which offered advice on the internal organization of local authorities. Both reports have particular relevance to the concept of corporate management which became the predominant conception of how internal reform should proceed.

The first of these two reports was entitled The Report of the

Committee on the Management of Local Government. This report was submitted in 1967 by Sir John Maud who chaired the Committee on the Management of Local Government. The second report was entitled The Report of the Committee on the New Local Authorities. It appeared in 1972 and was the product of the Study Group on Local Authority Management Structure. "Popularly known as the Bains Committee, after its chairman, its task was to advise the new authorities on management structures, while presenting alternatives to the Maud Committee recommendations." (Jennings, 1977, p. 22)

These national government appointed committees were the outcome of a growing dissatisfaction with the internal management processes of local government. More and more persons who were directly involved in the processes contended that they were both inefficient and ineffective in providing good government at the local level.

The system which was coming under increasing criticism was based on a simple principle which determined the form of both the lay and official institutions of local government. "Briefly, this principle said that for every distinct local authority service there should be a committee to run it, served by a chief officer who headed a department of officials dealing with it." (Stanyer, p. 133) In fact, this principle was also applied to parts of services and functions.

While this principle was characteristically applied throughout England, it did receive differential interpretation from one local authority to another. However, there were particular common consequences. One was the large number of committees and subcommittees, chief officers and departments within each authority. And there was constant pressure to increase them. Another was the problem of coordination between different activities within a local authority. This led to more organizational 'machinery' to try and bring harmony and consistency to a fragmented system. (Stanyer, Chapter 7)

This problem of coordination was compounded in a system where there were two main but functionally quite different kinds of committees--those that administer a single service on the principle of vertical division of labour and those that do council's work that affects the various services. An example of the former is education and of the latter is finance. If the education committee exemplifies a vertical division of labour, the finance committee exemplifies a horizontal division of labour.

The dissatisfaction with the traditional system, as was mentioned above, culminated in the appointment of the so-called Maud Committee in March, 1965. Its mandate, in brief, was to advise the government on how to streamline the machinery of local government for purposes of effectiveness. The Maud Committee reported in March, 1967.

Specifically, the terms of reference of the Maud Committee were: "To consider in the light of modern conditions how local government might best continue to attract and retain people of the calibre necessary to ensure its maximum effectiveness." (Maud, p. 3) As a result of their deliberations, the Maud Committee outlined a number of criticisms of the traditional committee system:

(1) Because of it, local authorities had no managing body providing leadership and control.

(2) Vertical committees were so strong that it was difficult

to get a "Council view" of community needs and services.

(3) It was time-consuming and costly to run.

Two main reforms were needed, according to the Committee. Clearly a reduction in the number of committees was called for. Also stronger horizontal committees were needed to temper departmentalism. Possibly such committees should be coupled with a small managing body of senior councillors. Indeed, the Maud Committee was of the view that such a body was essential if a council was "... to have effective leadership from its elected members." (Redcliffe-Maud and Wood, p. 78)

The specific recommendations of the Maud Committee were as follows:

(1) The establishment of a management board made up of five to nine elected councillors. This board was to lead and coordinate the work of the authority;

(2) Service committees were to have no executive powers. Instead, they would be deliberative bodies and would report to the management board which would have executive powers;

(3) Chief officers would be responsible to the management board through a chief executive officer;

(4) There would be a team of chief officers under the leadership of a chief executive.

These recommendations implied a major simplification of management in local government. "The simplification consisted of merging all committees and departments until there were only a handful of each, with consequent reduction of the number of independent chief officers, and the elimination of the unrestricted communication network between which had been a characteristic of the traditional system, in favour of one that channelled everything through a new functional committee . . . the management board." (Stanyer, p. 134)

These proposals of the Maud Committee were considered to be radical. Indeed, no local authority has fully implemented the proposals. The so-called Bains Committee, to which earlier reference has been made, was established by the government in 1971 to recommend ways and means of restructuring local government management processes in light of the Maud proposals and the up-coming reorganizations of the external features of local government in England.

Recognizing that most local authority councils were not enthusiastic about the major recommendations of the Maud Committee, the national government, as was said above, appointed another committee to make recommendations to local councils on the implementation of the Maud proposals. This they did in 1971 in consultation with local authority associations. The result was

> ... a high-powered seven man working group of clerks and treasurers ... to produce advice for the new local authorities on management structures at both elected member and appointed officer level. (Redcliffe-Maud and Wood, p. 84)

This group, called the Bains Committee, worked under a seventeen member steering committee representative of the main local authority associations.

The proposals of this committee were significantly different from the Maud proposals in some important respects. The proposals were as follows:

(1) There should be established by each council a strong, central body made up of elected members called the policy and resources committee. The purpose of this committee would be to assist the council in setting

objectives and priorities for its local jurisdiction and also in coordinating and controlling their achievement. This committee would have at least three strong sub-committees dealing with the main resources of a local authority--finance, manpower, land and buildings.

(2) The traditional committee structure should be streamlined by combining committees thereby reducing the number considerably.

The Bains Committee, however, was concerned about the very strong desire of elected members to participate in committee work. So it was recommended that any streamlining be such as to insure that every elected member would serve on at least one committee.

(3) New councils should have a performance review committee which would emphasize the need on the part of councils to define objectives and priorities and to assess the degree of goal achievement accordingly. The objective of this emphasis, corporate planning and management, was to assist local authorities to move away from the traditional approach to decision-making which was piecemeal and without clear objectives for each service and group of services.

(4) Senior officers were to be organized into a management team. As well there were to be interdepartmental working groups (i.e., sub-committees of the management team). Also, there were to be interdisciplinary working groups to service programme committees.

(5) The policy and resources committee should have its chief officer--a chief executive--who would head the management team. That person was to be the head of the local authority's paid officials, the chief officers group.

If the Maud Committee's proposal for a management board with executive powers ran into rough weather because it clashed with widely held values amongst both officers and council members, the Bains Committee proposal for the policy and resources committee was more acceptable because it took into account many widely held values of both groups.

> Any lack of acceptability which was experienced in some places seems to be attributable to the fact that it leaned more towards values of those officers who were likely to be part of the management team than towards those of the council members and the more narrowly professional officers. (Stanyer, p. 262)

The Bains Committee accepted Maud's view of the critical weakness of the traditional approach to local government management and administration, that is to say, the lack of unity within the internal organization of the local authority. (Department of the Environment, p. 1)

This absence of unity, it will be recalled, was the product of two factors: too great a feeling of separateness between the departments and no means of effective coordination. For both Maud and Bains, the remedy lay in the establishment of a central policy-making and resource allocating body of elected members and, also, in strengthening the authority of the clerk of council in relation to the chief officers of the various departments.

The Maud proposal of a cabinet-like management board which would be the sole executive body of the council was downplayed by Bains because it proved to be too radical a proposal for most councils as they contemplated structural innovation. Instead, Bains proposed a new approach to management--the corporate approach. This approach would require a new "mentality," so to speak, among the members and officers working on the various council committees which were to remain as executive bodies in relation to the policy and resources committee.

Corporate Management: The Growth of An Idea

The major assumption undergirding the proposal for corporate management was the view that local government is not limited to " ... the narrow provision of a series of services to the local community ... Rather it has within its purview the overall economic, cultural and physical well-being of that community." (Department of the Environment, p. 6) Bains was recommending that the traditional departmental attitude be replaced by the wider range corporate view.

Since 1974, most councils have reorganized their internal management structures along lines recommended by Bains. They have all attempted to invoke the concept of corporate management to some degree at least.

The beginnings of this reform were in the 1950's. At that time, as has been said, the traditional approach was the provision of limited services statutorily defined, each with a distinct and separate influence on the environment of the local authority. This approach began to give way to an alternative view, one which accepted the separate provision of services locally but emphasized the idea that " ... a common organizational framework provides opportunities for economies of scale in the use of resources and for the recognition of departmental interdependencies that arise in the implementation of policies." (Greenwood and Stewart, p. 1) Even prior to 1974, some local authorities, thinking along these lines, were merging departments, streamlining committees, delegating to officers and appointing chief executive officers in place of clerks.

Let us recall that at the same time another view was also growing in importance among persons involved in local government, that a local authority is something more than a mere provider of services statutorily defined and conceived. The Redcliffe-Maud Commission, for example, gave voice to this view. They saw the purpose of local government to be

> ... an all-round responsibility for the safety, health, and well-being, both material and cultural, of people in different localities in so far as these objectives can be achieved by local action and local initiative, within a framework of national policies. (Report, Vol. 1, p. 10)

The movement then, towards corporate management is built upon this reinterpretation of the local government's role as the 'primary arm of government in a particular geographic area'. Corporate management is seen as a most appropriate way to handle the impact of local government action for the local government environment.

According to Ribbins, the term 'corporate' in corporate management implies a system in which " ... decision-making is both more widely dispersed and which also makes use of all professional and other skills available to the organization." (p. 21) He contrasts it with 'departmental' and 'centralized'.

> The theory of corporate management is based on the principle that the management problems of large, modern organizations have become so complex and difficult that systems of decision-making characterized by either rigid, hierarchic structures or by deep-seated rivalries between component organizational subdivisions are becoming increasingly inappropriate.* (Ribbins, p. 21)

Corporate Management in Practice

In place of the concept of the management board proposed by Maud, most local authorities moved rather in the direction of a central policy committee and the continuation of fewer executive committees, delegation of items for decision by officers, a redefinition of a chief officers' group and the merging of departments.

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*In this discussion, corporate planning is included as part of the definition of corporate management. Management is defined as " ... setting aims, deciding between alternatives, controlling expectations and evaluating performance...." (Fielden & Lockwood, pp. 13-14)

The alternatives put forward by Bains in the concept of corporateness took different forms in different places. However, the outcomes of efforts to apply corporate management have resulted in characteristic features in the new local authorities. The basic question asked by those who sought to implement Bains' proposals was, 'What machinery at the county level is required to insure coordination?'

One of the ways to achieve coordination was to redefine the role of clerk, making that person into the principal officer. In the traditional system, the clerk was viewed as the county's chief administrative officer. In the new system, the concept of a chief executive officer has taken shape.

> It reflects a change in the duties and functions of the central officer away from a primary concern for administrative coordination in favour of the coordination of policies in their formulative stages .... (Greenwood and Stewart, pp. 9-10)

This notion of a chief executive officer responsible to the council for corporate management has led to another organizational change--the formalized and regular meeting of chief officers in a body called the management team. (In theory this working together of chief officers and the chief executive as corporate managers is to lead to a sense of corporate responsibility on their part.)

In some authorities, centralized departments have developed under the chief executive officer. While in others, so as not to threaten the commitment of chief officers, the major executive functions of the existing departments have been left intact. In any event, the chief executives' 'department', whether larger or smaller takes on activities and develops instruments to enhance its ability to facilitate corporate management (e.g. research and intelligence activities, financial and personnel control, policy planning, programme evaluation).

On the political side, the body with which the management team works is a policy and resources committee. This body is typically made up of a relatively small number of elected members--the senior politicians in the council who are to serve as a single functional committee. The purpose of the committee is to develop council purposes and objectives and to coordinate the work of all other committees in the achievement of the purposes and objectives.

Typically, in fact, policy and resources committees have established procedures which insure that long-range objectives, programmes and proposals of the various services come under their scrutiny.

> Thus while service committees tend to retain control over policy-making for the services and tend still to have responsibility for development of the service, their pending and future plans are subject to policy committee approval.
> (Jennings, 1977, p. 55)

By way of summary, it seems fair to say that the policy and resources committee has become the predominant means in the management structure of the local authority to insure corporateness of the approach to management. The instruments created to make sure it happens are: (1) a chief executive position, (2) control of finance and personnel throughout the authority by having finance and personnel subcommittees of the policy and resources committee, and (3) the constitution of an officers management team.

> Corporate management was therefore given expression ... in particular forms of organizational structure and processes

> at member level ... at chief officer level ... and at different administrative levels ...
> (Howell, p. 211)

What have been the effects of this move to corporate management on the education service? What have been the reactions of those who work in the education service to the corporate management reform? These questions are addressed in the following section.

The Effects of Corporate Management on the Education Service: A Case Study

In a study recently completed the following question was asked: What has been the impact of the corporate management reform on the education service of the New County of Ridleyshire as perceived by senior officials in the education service? This study set out to test the generalizations of an earlier study by Robert Jennings in which he examined four local authorities and the effects on the education service of the corporate management reform. Jennings was particularly interested in detailing any changes "in the interactive roles of the policy-makers, the education professionals, other officers and the party politicians." (Jennings, 1980, p. 4)

The Framework of the Study

Because he was examining the impact of corporate management, Jennings' findings are reported under headings directly relevant to that process--goal setting, policy planning, management structures, and performance review. The questions to which this study sought answers were formulated, accordingly, in direct relationship to these headings.

The study asked a set of questions concerning the preparation of an explicit statement of purposes and objectives for the education service, who is involved in the preparation of such a statement and how they are involved, the kinds of information used and the major consumers of such information. Questions in this area also sought to discover the nature of conflict over purposes and objectives and how conflicts over the role of education are resolved.

Secondly, the study sought answers to questions in the area of policy planning. Particular attention was paid to how policy planning gets done, including the role of the education department, the education committee, the office of the chief executive, the policy and resources committee, and the county council. Other questions sought answers to how, after 1974, the powers for policy planning were determined and clarified, how financial information is provided for policy planning in education, how elected members affect the policy planning process and how they are informed by officials on policy planning matters. Questions in this area also sought to discover who the key elected members are who make the major policy planning decisions.

With respect to policy implementation and policy management, a further set of questions was asked. Basically, these questions sought to discover how the education committee is connected to the county council in the overall policy making process by means of particular instruments of corporate management--the management team, department development planning, and budgeting. An attempt was made to find out the role of the chief executive in policy implementation and policy management and, as well, the role of the chief education officer and how that role has changed, if it has, since 1974.

Finally, questions were asked about the fourth dimension of the corporate management process--performance review. The study sought to discover by what means the county council and the education committee, as a part of the larger "corporation", monitor the attainment of purposes and objectives.

The interview questions were meant to elicit from those who were interviewed information which would allow a comparison with Jennings' findings. Would the evidence or would it not, on the basis of data for Ridleyshire, support Jennings' conclusions?

Those who answered the questions on the interview schedule were senior education officials in the new county including officers in the education service in County Hall, district education officers and heads of schools and colleges. In addition to the interview data, information was gathered from relevant documents in County Hall, for example minutes of meetings, committee reports, and annual reports.

The Context of the Study

On April 1, 1974 local government reorganization was instituted throughout England following two years of preparatory work. The new County of Ridleyshire was created covering an area of nearly three quarters of a million acres, a population of 1.25 millions and an annual budget in its first year in excess of three hundred million pounds. The new county was made up of a major portion of the old County of Ridleyshire plus four county boroughs within its borders. The new county's second tier of local government was made up of 14 districts each with a district council responsible for particular functions. It is useful to note that each of the former county boroughs became a district in the new county. The Education Service was located at the county level although each of the 14 districts was given a district education officer (representing the county administration). In each district an education liaison committee was established. This situation contrasted with the previous system in which a number of the districts had their own elected education committee and chief officer. For example, each of the county boroughs up to 1974 had been responsible for its own education service. So, for the four boroughs and some of the other districts, the new system removed control of education to the county level.

For two years prior to April 1, 1974, following the passage of the Local Government Act in 1972, transitional activities from the old to the new system were the order of the day. In making the transition to the new county status by April, 1974 the councils of the former authorities which were to be joined together into the new authority established a "Joint Committee for the New County of Ridleyshire." It was made up of representatives from the various constituent parts. Very early in its existence, this joint committee recommended among other things that a policy steering committee be appointed "for the purpose of considering and making recommendations to the County Council on ... the management of the (new) county council, incorporating a pattern of committees, and including constitution and terms of reference ...." (Ridleyshire County Council Proceedings, 1973-74). And so, at a meeting of the council held on May 3, 1973 a policy steering committee was constituted. At this same meeting the newly established Policy Steering Committee received as a basis for action on the matter of the management structure for the new authority a report entitled "A Report of the Joint Committee for the New County of Ridleyshire."

Clearly one of the highest priorities of the Joint Committee was consideration of a management structure for the new county council. It recommended that the new council make early arrangements for just such consideration. The Joint Committee made reference to the Bains Committee Report (Department of the Environment) and pointed out that there was available a working paper on management structure prepared for the Joint Committee by a body it struck called the Coordinating Working Party (see pp. 31-39, Minutes of the Ridleyshire County Council Proceedings, May 3, 1973).*

The recommendations of the Coordinating Working Party on a management structure for the new county council are based on the Bains Report. Thus their recommendations were designed to achieve "a better corporate approach" and "more effective management" in the new County of Ridleyshire. The authors of the CWP report also point out that Bains was used as a guide only and so the recommended procedures, etc. in the Bains Report were to be adapted to the needs of the new county. The authors also underlined that the application and adaptation of Bains would not be easy in Ridleyshire because the new county was to be formed from four major county boroughs and a large part of the Old County of Ridleyshire.

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*The Joint Committee, in order to expedite its own work established the so-called Coordinating Working Party of officers as well as a series of project groups made up of appropriate professional officers of the constituent Authorities. There were five such constituents: the old County of Ridleyshire and four County Boroughs. The CWP was made up largely of clerks and treasurers of the constituent authorities. Project groups were set up for all the main functions for which the New County Council would be held responsible.

The objective of the CWP report was expressed as follows: "to formulate a practicable and flexible plan, which will take account of the severe upheavals which reorganization will cause, but which will give the new county council an improved decision-making and administrative system to meet the challenge of 1974 and beyond." (Ibid., p. 31) Accordingly, the CWP report sets out a series of ideas in which the options for the new county council are stated. It carefully examines what it calls "the two essential and interlocking elements of management in a local authority--members and the committee structure and officers and the departmental structure." (Ibid., p. 31) What in effect the report does is examine the opportunities for effective and constructive liaison between the two levels--elected members and appointed officials. The report accordingly makes recommendations with respect to each of the following: the county council, committee structure, officer structure, departmental structure, and personnel and management services. A summary of the recommendations received by the county council indicates that the CWP sought to streamline management in the following ways:

(1) by establishing a policy and resources committee with wide ranging terms of reference and with a set of subcommittees--finance, personnel, lands and buildings, and monitoring;

(2) by appointing a chief executive officer who would work in relationship with the county secretary's office including officials to oversee the work of finance, personnel, lands and buildings, and monitoring;

(3) by establishing through various combinations a reduced number

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of service committees;

(4) by appointing some chief officers to act on a management team the leadership of which would be provided by the chief executive officer;

(5) by seriously upgrading the status of a countywide personnel officer who would be responsible to the chief executive for personnel matters in the county as well as for general management services countywide.

Clearly, the Joint Committee for the new County of Ridleyshire, in accepting the CWP report was strongly urging the new county council to opt for a large measure of corporateness in management practices. Let us now turn to a consideration of what form in fact the new authority took with respect to management structures and processes.

In the final analysis, the new county council decided as follows: to have only eight committees one of which would be a powerful policy and resources committee. It was to have significant subcommittees, namely finance, personnel, and estates. (Note: there was not to be a monitoring subcommittee); there was to be a chief executive who, although he was not to be directly responsible for its operation, was to head a department called the Clerk's Department. The chief executive was also to head a management team of chief officers. The team was clearly expected to take a corporate view as it advised the chief executive and the policy and resources committee; personnel management, as a function of the policy and resources committee, was to become a very significant activity under a personnel officer whose status in the new system was to be upgraded considerably.

The question now is, what impact did the new corporate approach have on the education service as perceived by senior officers in the service? What follows is an attempt to provide an answer.

The Findings of the Study

The interview data were collected in four categories directly related to the corporate management approach and so the findings are reported accordingly:

1. In no way are purposes and objectives determined as part of an effort by the education service to create either a short range (or long range) master plan for education which in turn is part of an overall county approach to comprehensive planning. Those educational purposes and objectives which do exist typically originate on the professional side of the service and typically are endorsed by the elected members. There is, of course, care taken to consult with key elected members informally so that whatever purposes and objectives are formally proposed will be acceptable when they are presented. The chief education officer is perceived to be the most influential person when it comes to proposing objectives and purposes and getting them accepted. The information which is crucial in relation to the development of purposes and objectives comes from professional sources both inside and outside the local authority. And the major consumers of such information are the officials in the education service along with heads and teachers. Elected members typically react to shortened versions of position papers and policy proposals. Major conflicts over purposes and objectives in the local authority are conspicuous by their absence and were before 1974 as well. Indeed, the education service of Ridleyshire can best be characterized as one in which the elected members place much confidence and trust in

their appointed officials with respect to the determination of objectives and purposes. The members look to the officials for advice and for the most part accept the advice they receive and act on it.

Similarly, policy planning is done by senior officials in consultation with their professional colleagues. Policy plans are typically accepted in education committee subcommittees because care has been taken in the preparation of planning proposals to consult with key members in advance. It is the considered views of the persons interviewed that the policy and resources committee of the county council deals with education committee initiatives in much the same way that the education committee deals with the initiatives of its officials in policy planning. Education committee policy planning initiatives only succeed if they fit within the resource limits of the policy and resources committee. The view is held that, in fact, the policy and resources committee is a misnomer. That committee would better be called the resource allocations committee since it has taken few if any policy planning initiatives, in education at any rate.

In spite of what has been said above, those interviewed do perceive the power and influence of the chief executive to be growing in relation to the power and influence of the chief education officer. The chief executive's power is expanding because of his control, through the policy and resources committee, of budgeting and personnel administration, as well as his direct contacts with the political leadership of the county council. The power and influence of the chief education officer is declining for other reasons as well. The evidence suggests that the politicization of local government, including the education service, reduces the power and influence of the officials in policy planning. An interesting conclusion, however, may be drawn that the means by which education officials seek to maintain influence and control over policy planning is to propose only those items which they know will be acceptable. These they know because of the informal soundings, etc. which they have engaged in. Another interesting conclusion seems warranted, that after 1974 the education committee remained in relatively firm control of the substance of its work--and further, that if its control has been "slipping" it has more to do with the tightening economic constraints placed on local authorities by the national government than with anything else.

With respect to policy implementation and management, the evidence suggests they are delegated to the education committee and its officials. Support for this conclusion is based on the evidence that the management team is not really an instrument for corporate management. Members of the team typically deal with matters that are for the most part already settled. Those matters have mostly to do with resource allocation and reallocation (budgetary matters) within already settled boundaries.

If the management team is not being used as was originally envisaged with respect to corporate management, the evidence suggests that neither is the policy and resources committee using development planning and budgeting as instruments to effect corporate management.

The changes outlined above have had important effects on the role of the chief education officer. The data suggest that the independence of action which was once a most important feature of the chief education officer's role is now to some degree constrained. This loss of independence has to do not with the practice of corporate planning and management as such, but rather (1) with the politization of the system -- both at the level of councillor ideology and the level of "small p" politics, and (2) the emergence of the chief executive as a growing centre of power and influence in the system.

And finally, with respect to performance review, the evidence suggests that between 1974 and 1980 the County of Ridleyshire had not undertaken systematic evaluation of the effectiveness of the new form of governance either across the various departments or within them. In the case of the education service, the approach to evaluating the effectiveness of the system and/or parts of it went on after 1974 much as it had been prior to 1974. The institution of corporate management seems to have affected minimally what is called performance review as one dimension in the overall process of corporate management.

A Comparative Analysis: Testing Jennings' Conclusions

As was pointed out earlier in this article, an attempt has been made to examine the impact of the corporate management reform on the education service in the County of Ridleyshire and to do so in relation to a set of generalizations formulated by Robert Jennings on the basis of his 1980 study. The purpose of the study being reported here was to test, in effect, Jennings' conclusions in a different authority.

I propose to present the Jennings conclusions under the four headings relevant to corporate management and, under each of the four headings, to compare the conclusions for Ridleyshire.

Goal Setting

Before aims and objectives are decided and policy planning begins, the corporate model requires that the broad purposes for the local authority services and the respective roles of the various departments must be determined. Decisions at this level allow for broad agreement "on the fundamental issues of who gets to decide what and why." (Jennings, 1980, pp. 24-25) What is called for, accordingly, in the education service is a broad gauge examination of the aims of education in the authority. Agreement on such aims would allow for their incorporation into the overall aims of the authority.

According to Jennings, the education service faltered badly on this task. He offers four reasons for the failure: "(1) the lack of political will on the part of the controlling party, (2) the weakness of control oversight within the authority, (3) the lack of an adequate information base, and (4) the very enormity of the task...." (Jennings, 1980, p. 26)

On the basis of the evidence from the four authorities he was studying, Jennings concluded that they did not undertake any far-reaching examination of aims, goals, objectives. Rather, he says, they continued to operate much as they had done prior to 1974. Because they remained relatively compartmentalized and continued to retain some degree of autonomy in policy making and implementation, this tended to bring the service "into hard conflict with new faces and power arrangements within each authority. (Jennings, 1980, p. 29)

What is true in the authorities studied by Jennings seems also to be the case for the County of Ridleyshire. "In no way are purposes and objectives determined as part of an effort by the education service to create either a short range (or long range) master plan for education which in turn is part of an overall county approach to comprehensive planning." (See p. 26, above)

If the education service faltered in this regard in Ridleyshire for the reasons given by Jennings in relation to the authorities he studied, it probably faltered as well for another reason, namely, that elected members place unusual confidence and trust in their appointed officials for advice on purposes and goals. If the officials do not push for a comprehensive statement of aims, then neither do the members.

Policy Planning

In terms of the corporate approach, once the aims and objectives have been established, policy planning can begin. By means of an examination of the processes of policy planning in the four authorities, Jennings found what appears to be a dramatic shift "in the locus of power within local government...." (1980, p. 30) He came to this conclusion after examining local government structures which appear to be directly related to the exercise of power -- the policy and resources committee, the education committee, and the chief executive position. Jennings' findings suggest that since reorganization, local government has undergone a centralization of decision-making. As he says, more and more decisions are being made by fewer and fewer persons. On the basis of the evidence about centralization, Jennings draws the following conclusions: (1) decisions, both political and policy, are more and more being made by the majority party leader along with a few influential councillors of the ruling party; (2) the political leadership looks for its professional advice on policy matters more and more to the chief executive, thus making him relatively powerful as an advisor and consultant; (3) a combination of the party leaders and chief executive are making the initial political and policy planning decisions outside of party groups and government.

Because of this trend to centralization, both the policy and resources committee and the education committee have had their roles altered since 1974. They have become less policy formulators and more policy implementers. This trend is a far cry from the "dispersed power of the polycentric committee system of local councils and from that form of specialist professional power known as officer domination." (Jennings, 1980, p. 32)

If chief education officers hope to remain influential in education policy development, Jennings speculates that they must address the question of how they may reach party leaders and chief executives in order to explain, clarify, and persuade with respect to educational policy, plans, and decisions. Jennings' research suggests that the chief officer, if he is to have power, must understand the basis of the chief executive's power base -- his or her connection with the leadership of the majority party. And supporting this power are his or her access to the treasurer, personnel officer, and research and intelligence officer. All three of these positions can serve the chief executive's position and interest in maintaining and expanding his or her power base.

The evidence from the Ridleyshire case suggests that there has been here, as well, a shift in the locus of power. However, the evidence suggests the shift has not been as dramatic as with authorities studied by Jennings. This conclusion seems warranted in that in Ridleyshire the education committee and the chief education officer seem still to control, within fairly broadly set parameters, the internal aspects of their work. In other words, the education service is perceived, by those who work in it as senior officials, still to be in command by and large of policy planning. The education committee, taking its lead from the officials in the service, continues in Ridleyshire to be a policy formulator as well as a policy implementor. It would appear from the evidence that officials in the education service remain influential in policy making because they work carefully, often informally, sounding out key elected members and key officials in other important departments in order to ascertain what policies will and will not be acceptable.

Management Structures and Processes

The corporate model calls for procedures and processes which bring together the resources of a local authority in solving the problems of the authority. And it is assumed that coordination of departments is very appropriate in achieving effectiveness and efficiency.

Jennings examined three such "structures" or processes: the officers' management team, development planning, and budget preparation procedures. He sought to discover how these processes work and how their working affects the education service.

The management team was found to be largely a failure in comparison to its stated purposes of policy planning and coordination. The following topics tend to dominate the meetings: transmission of majority party thinking by the chief executive, discussion of a largely predetermined budget, and matters relating to personnel. In each case, the evidence suggests that departments have lost considerable control to the chief executive. Concerning the transmission of the political views and intentions of the majority party, Jennings says the chief executive does so with the consent of the party leadership. "For most chief officers, this is about as close as they will come to inner party thinking and the only verification readily available is through [the chief officer's] committee chairman." (Jennings, 1980, p. 42) Chief officers likewise have little chance to change budget because the amounts for each department have already been set through a centralized decision process. On matters pertaining to personnel, again centralization means the departments have lost a good deal of control to the chief executive's office. Jennings' conclusion about the management team is that it has nothing of a genuine nature to do. There are no serious and significant decisions to make.

The second process, budget preparation, Jennings found to be at the heart of the deliberations of local officials. Because the budgets of local authorities are 'closed ended,' that is, the bounds are predetermined elsewhere, all the chief officers have to do, working with their respective committees, is make the share-out and try to get concessions. According to Jennings, "None of the four authorities studied used the budget as an instrument of corporate action. The process remains one of negative fiscal control rather than one of sorting priorities in terms of community needs of agreed-upon objectives." (1980, p. 46)

The third process he studied, development planning, Jennings characterizes as immediate, not long-range. Forward thinking did exist but it was not put together systematically in the various departments and then shared with politicians for review purposes. In other words, most planning was short-term ad hoc solutions to rather immediate problems.

In fact, in the authorities he studied, Jennings found the chief education officers to be "defenders." They saw as a main task one of preventing central planning units from pre-empting education's planning functions. He says this defensive posture is to be seen, for example, when in the management team chief education officers prefer to see consensus on issues rather than corporation decisions.

The evidence from the Ridleyshire study supports, by and large, Jennings' conclusions. With respect to the management team, it is not seen as an instrument of corporate management. In Ridleyshire, "Members typically deal with matters that are for the most part already settled. Those matters have mostly to do with resource allocations and reallocations (budgetary matters) within already settled boundaries." (See above, p. 29) What is true for the management team is perceived to be the case for development planning and budgeting. Neither of these processes is used as an instrument to effect corporate management.

If these instruments are not used for purposes of effecting corporate management, what are they used for? The evidence from Ridleyshire supports the view that these are instruments in the hands of the chief executive to reduce the power of the chief education officer so that, as Jennings reported, the chief education officer has become a "defender" of his service. His independence of action with respect to the education service is no longer what it was before 1974.

Performance Review

This is the aspect of corporate management that gets at how effectively and efficiently the authority is achieving its departmental and overall previously set objectives and goals. From his data Jennings says that review of performance in this manner is simply not occurring. He gives three reasons for this state of affairs: (1) elected members were less than anxious to have evaluative information of this kind, so officers were not pushed to get it; (2) in the absence of firm objectives against which to measure progress, officers were not keen to do it; (3) the political leadership in the four authorities studied by Jennings was wary about the political repercussions of such information.

Jennings' findings are also the findings for Ridleyshire. "[T]he evidence suggests that between 1974 and 1980 the County ... had not undertaken systematic evaluation of the effectiveness of the new form of governance either across the various departments or within them." (See above, p. 30) In the education service the evaluation activities which did go on were the traditional kinds and not the result of initiatives taken by the management team or the policy and resources committee.

Conclusions and Speculations

Three main conclusions are put forward by Jennings on the basis of his study. In the first place, he concludes that corporate planning and management does not exist. Instead, the 1974 reorganization and reform have led to centralization of decision-making in local government. He says, "Centralisation does not depend upon defining aims and objectives nor on the results of performance reviews. It appears that centralisation has been substituted because it favours party political control and aids and abets the chief executive in the power struggles to establish his new post." (Jennings, 1980, p. 53)

The Ridleyshire study adds support to Jennings' conclusion. What is true for his four authorities appears to be the case in Ridleyshire, at least with respect to the education service. The new system is a more centralized system, although in Ridleyshire the education service seems to be less affected by the trend to centralization than was the case for the authorities studied by Jennings. This seems so even though party political control is more evident now than was the case before 1974 and the chief executive is gradually extending his power at the expense of the chief education officer.

In the second place, Jennings concluded that administration in local government has become more political, more power-oriented. This, he says, is the case because local officials have not bought the values and principles of corporate management. Instead they are moved by the political imperatives involved in defending their own departmental interests. Thus, "Where corporate decisions and joint action are called for, limited consensus and circumscribed cooperation are about all that can be achieved." (Jennings, 1980, p. 53)

Certainly the evidence from Ridleyshire supports this conclusion. There was general agreement that officials since 1974 have had to become far more "political." This is especially true in terms of "small p" politics. This is in part a response by officials in the education service to 'defend' their department and service, but it is also a response to the demands of elected members to engage in administrative and management activities. In the process, to some extent the professional expertise of the officials is downplayed in relation to what are said to be political considerations.

In the third place, according to Jennings, the office of the chief executive has become potentially the strong point in local government paid service. From Jennings' point of view this has resulted because of political arrangements with the controlling party leadership and not through formal assigned authority. In fact, chief executives have gained their authority especially through control over the interpretation and flow of information and a firm hold on the personnel function. Jennings claims, "The main complaint which chief officers have against the command and control powers of the chief executive has been that they have been used to make decisions rather than to manage the decision process." (1980, p. 56)

While this conclusion of Jennings' seems to hold to a degree for Ridleyshire, the evidence suggests that, at least with respect to the education service, his power vis-à-vis the chief education officer is not as great as one might expect. In many respects the education committee and the chief officer conduct their business more along traditional lines than appears to be the case in the authorities studied by Jennings, although an erosion of the chief education officer's power is clearly occurring. This is happening because of the chief executive's control of important budgeting and personnel functions and because he is closer to key members of the council than is the chief education officer.

The intriguing question at this point is why has the reform not fulfilled its promise in the years since 1974? And why is Ridleyshire in some important aspects not quite like the authorities studied by Jennings? To these questions we now turn and speculate on some possible answers.

In this final section I propose to speculate on some possible explanations for these conclusions by asking: Are there theoretical perspectives which might help us to understand why the reform turned out as it did? What are some plausible reasons to help explain what happened?

The Failure to Institute Corporate Management

In a study reported by R.J. Haynes of the rejection of corporate management in Birmingham, he suggests that an understanding of the "culture" of an organization can provide a plausible explanation of the failure to implement corporate management as originally envisioned. "The culture of the organization includes the values, attitudes, goals, expectations and prejudices of the participants. Weakness or inadequacy here implies a basic failing in the whole approach to organizational innovation and reform." (Haynes, p. 32)

The Haynes study indicates the following characteristics of the Birmingham system of local government "in reform" which are similar to what Jennings found in his authorities and what I found in Ridleyshire to some extent: most officers felt less than comfortable in a corporate setting; a departmental orientation continued in spite of the corporate reform; members of interdepartmental groups acted as defenders of their respective departmental interests; there was a lack of sympathy for the objectives of the new system because of a lack of understanding; most of those who held key positions in the new system were skeptical and not committed to the new system's basic principles. According to Haynes, "Anxiety and resentment were caused by the imposition, by a small group of enthusiasts, of a system of management which involved senior officials in strange and unfamiliar managerial situations and roles, many completely alien to the managerial and organizational environments or culture within which they had risen to senior levels." (p. 34)

The point is that the so-called cultural element, including the value system of the organization, is crucial in that the success or failure of procedural and structural innovation will be determined by the degree of commitment of the participants. The imposition of corporateness which placed officers, most of whom had been socialized in the traditional organizational system, in a new situation wherein they were not ready to survive and succeed, and where they were uncommitted to the new approach, placed on them an impossible burden leading one to speculate that the reform was bound to falter.

What was called for was a concentration on the so-called cultural element as much as on the procedural and structural elements of the reform. This would entail a major effort on the part of the reformers to make sure that those who were to occupy key positions in the reformed organization would have the requisite values, skills and knowledge to make the new system work. In other words, this would involve the "resocialization" of persons socialized in the old ways and the removal of those who would not or could not meet the demands of the new "culture."

The Politicization of Management

The trend toward politicization in the governance of education may be partly explained by thinking of educational policy-making as having passed through different phases.* The first phase, up to the 1960s, has been called the empirical-autocratic phase; the second, during the 1960s, has been called the rational-participatory. The phase we are presently in has been called the reactive-adversarial and is characteristic of the 1970s.

In the first phase, when the educational organization's conditions were relatively stable and there existed in the community a general consensus on the goals and objectives of education, the attitude of the community and government toward education may be classified as *laissez-faire*. This is so in the sense that senior officials in the system of education were recognized as 'the experts' in charge. In other words, it was largely within their power to direct and shape the course of the organization. "In this phase the 'politics of education' was said not to exist and those in authority preferred it that way.

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* What follows in this section closely parallels material previously written by the author. See I. Housego as listed in the references.

Custom and habit played a relatively large and influential role in the operation of the organization." (Housego, p. 382)

During the 1960s, two developments occurred at the same time. They moved educational organizations into the next phase of policy-making -- the rational-participatory phase. One of the developments had to do with planning as a function of the organization. Significant inventions of 'technique' in planning and management became available, such as the programme planning and budgeting system model, mathematical modelling of possible futures, sophisticated information systems, social forecasting and cost-effectiveness studies. Such techniques were enhanced by the power and availability of the computer. The emphasis in these approaches is on rationalism leading to a high confidence that organizational and governance problems would give way in the face of careful analysis and proper method.

The other development which also went on in the 1960s had to do with changes in the structures of governance of educational organizations. These changes are best characterized by the term participation. No longer were officials 'in authority', that is, in control of the policy development and implementation processes. Instead, others -- students, teachers, parents, citizens -- became much more involved in educational decision-making through well-organized interest groups. "Thus, the internal management of the organization, influenced by the involvement of new elements and with new methods of policy determination and decision-making, became much more complex, and correspondingly, much more vulnerable." (Housego, p. 383)

This complexity and vulnerability are evidenced in the following: whereas in the empirical-autocratic phase, policy-making went on, so to speak, behind closed doors under the influence of 'the experts', in this phase the process of debating priorities and deciding policy was much more done in public. Because the process was now far more self-conscious and reflective, the politics of education and management undercut attempts "to approach policy-making and policy implementation on a rational and scientific basis." (Housego, pp. 383-384)

The third and contemporary phase began in the early 1970s. Accountability is the fashionable word in this phase, which is characterized by a public which is less supportive and more critical of the education service than was the case previously. Attempts to achieve accountability by education officials have been confounded by two things: (1) education, as a public service, is no longer growing as it did in the 1950s and 1960s. Therefore officials with a largely growth-oriented mentality are in difficult straits as they try to cope with the management of decline (diminishing finances, declining enrolments, growing inflation); (2) the highly complex, participatory system of governance is often ineffective, because in times of scarcity, situations within and between organizations occur where one party's gain is another party's loss, leading to serious disagreement and conflict. "Thus we find we have entered the adversary phase with a vengeance, where administrators typically seek to escape from problems rather than resolve them. In essence, the organizational context has become highly politicized; and attempts to be rational in policy-making are largely futile." (Housego, p. 384)

If the "theory" outlined above reflects the reality of policy-making in education authorities over the past thirty years, then little wonder corporate management as such failed and the politicization of management occurred. This highly rationalistic approach to planning and management was out of context in the sense that the innovation was attempted in a hostile environment. In other words, the functions and processes that occurred with the politicization of local government do not match with the structures which appeared at reorganization. As Jennings says, "For the education service and chief education officers, the question becomes one of determining what parts of the structure are most useful and which might be irrelevant in maintaining education's power within local government?" (Jennings, 1980, p. 54)

Diminishing the Authority of Professional Expertise: the Erosion of the Chief Education Officer's Role

One way to approach an understanding of this phenomenon is to view it from the perspective of closed versus open systems of educational governance. Political systems such as local education authorities or local governments can be thought of as being more or less open or closed. An open system is characterized by the movement or flow of information, energy, and material into and out from the transformation processes of the system. By contrast, a closed system is self-contained and deterministic, and not characterized by the steady flow of information, energy and material.

In this case it may be useful to assume that until 1974 the governance of local education authorities exemplified the closed-system thesis. That is to say, educational policy-making was dominated by a core of system actors including the education committees, senior officials and teachers' associations. Citizens and other local government actors were more or less excluded from educational decision-making by those persons in the political system's immediate environment. A further useful assumption in relation to the closed-system thesis may be that, relative to other actors in the system, senior officials, particularly the chief education officer, had the great bulk of influence in policy-making and policy implementation.

If the above point of view is the case, then one can speculate that the attempt to implement corporate management has had the effect of opening, to some degree, the relatively closed educational system of governance. In the process, the net losers have been the senior educational officials, especially the chief education officer.

One's understanding of the shift in power away from the chief education officer may be further enhanced if we can assume that until 1974 the elected members of local education authorities largely saw their function in the system as being one in which they attended to the needs of their constituents whether or not the constituents perceived or expressed those needs, whereas the implementation of corporate management was meant to enhance political representation by reflecting the expressed preferences of constituents. The first conception has been referred to as a "civic duty" orientation, the second as a "populist" orientation. (Boyd)

Into a closed system of education governance dominated by the chief education officer and his or her senior officials and with elected members exhibiting a civic duty orientation, came the "reform" of corporate management. The outcome, as we have seen, was not the implementation of corporate management but rather the centralization of power in the hands of the chief executive. As Jennings says, "What has occurred is that centralisation has broken in on the closed politics of education as previously operated in local authorities. It has come against a new, and in some ways, more closed, political-administrative system at another place in the hierarchy. Attempting to use the older ways of educational policy-making has become quite dysfunctional for the [education service], as access to the new system is severely limited." (1978, p. 52)

Inherent in this situation in which the power of the chief education officer is being eroded and his professional expertise downplayed is the issue of "democracy versus efficiency" in government. Downey puts the issue in the form of a question, "... whether and how to reconcile the competing demands for the exercise of intelligence and the free play of politics in the policy-making process?" (p. 135)

Kaufman provides some explanatory concepts for addressing this issue. He sees in the evolution of governmental structure a search for accommodation among three values: representativeness; technical, non-partisan competence; and executive leadership.

By representativeness he means the demand for the election of public members by the adult citizens over whom, then, the members exercise authority and jurisdiction. Technical, non-partisan competence refers to the demand that members and their appointed officials base their decisions on technical and professional considerations rather than on premises which are politically partisan. Executive leadership refers to the demand that the actions of members and officials be coordinated at some central point so that programmes are reasonably consistent and efficient. These values are not exclusively sought. Rather, "at various stages one or the other receive[s] more emphasis than the other two, partly because new conditions require new methods and partly because excessive emphasis tends to set in motion demands for a redressing balance between them." (Mosher, p. 84)

It seems reasonable to speculate that the move to corporateness in 1974 can be viewed, in Kaufman's terms, as an emphasis on the search for executive leadership in the form of the chief executive and a de-emphasis, in the education service at least, on technical competence by reducing the power of the chief education officer. The question is, how far will it go? Jennings' view is that "the implications of such concentrated power in local government service could be that professional officers might ultimately be reduced to managers without a defined role in policy formulation. On the otner hand, it is more likely that there is a point at which the central policy-makers will require professional expertness and recognition of that fact will be a limitation on the concentration of power." (1980, p. 56)

The study reported here suggests that a major organizational reform, corporate management, from which great new things were to flow at the level of local government, never fulfilled its promise. The evidence suggests that something other than corporateness emerged because the instruments of corporate planning and management were used to enhance the power and influence of certain segments of the system at the expense of other segments. What has occurred is the increased politicization of the education service since 1974 and a shift in the locus of power away from the department and the chief education officer to the political leaders of the party in power and the chief executive. This shift has resulted in increased conflict and tension between the education service and other parts of the system. Professional expertise, as characterized in the role of the chief education officer, has been down-played in the new system with respect to policy decision-making, and councillor ideology and management politics have become more significant in policy decision-making.

If this is the case, then we may assume, along with D.A. Howell, that where "corporate management" has manifestly made a difference to the education service in terms of operation and control along lines discussed above "... it has done so for the worse." (Howell, p. 217) This may be viewed by some as an unfortunate tragedy made all the worse if we assume that corporate management was doomed to failure for reasons outlined above as speculations.

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EDUCATION NORTH: A CASE STUDY OF A STRATEGY FOR BUILDING SCHOOL-COMMUNITY RELATIONSHIPS

prepared by

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I

BACKGROUND

Native groups and various governmental agencies, in a number of studies of northern Alberta education, have highlighted the need for reform in several areas: (i) curriculum, especially language development and the inclusion of Native culture; (ii) teacher preparation, and (iii) parental involvement. However, attempts at educational reform in these remote northern settlements of Alberta have consistently met with a series of barriers to any significant changes in the delivery of educational services.

First of all, the lack of adequate infrastructure such as roads, housing and utility services has created major problems in providing effective educational service. Secondly, domination of the northern areas of the province by the economic and political center of the province has created a quasi-colonial pattern of service delivery which has hindered development of local solutions to local problems. Such a pattern of service has communicated a lack of confidence in local capability and deprived people of the opportunity both to accept responsibility and to develop skills for resolving local issues related to education. In addition, the delivery authority has been deprived of the advantage of the substantial positive feedback that a responsible local body can provide. Thirdly, jurisdictional problems between federal, provincial, and local authorities as they pertain to Native education further exacerbate the problem of effective delivery of educational service to northern communities. Lastly, alienation from the educational system, particularly among Native children

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is evidenced in poor school attendance and high dropout rates. As well, parental awareness of and support for what is taught in northern Alberta schools is perceived by the professional educator as being less than adequate. Parents, in turn, frequently are of the view that it does not matter much what they say since they perceive that the ways things are done in schools are not open to challenge or change.[1]

Within this context an experimental project, entitled Education North, was created in an attempt to provide the opportunity for members of selected northern communities to become actively involved in the development of projects in their home communities which would knit school and community more closely together to serve the education of the community's youth. The pilot project commenced in August, 1978 and is scheduled for completion in August, 1982.

II

THE STRATEGY

Education North is a strategy designed to change the nature of school-community relationships in selected northern Alberta

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[1] A technical appendix describing school-community relationships in the northern communities involved in the Education North project is attached as Appendix A.

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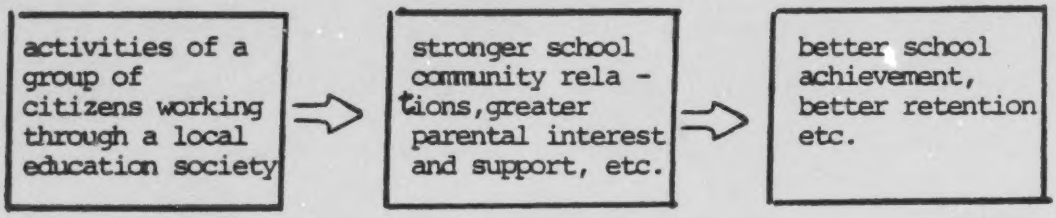
communities. The idea of strategy is very important in understanding Education North. In Webster's dictionary we find that strategy is "the art of devising or employing plans or stratagems toward a goal." The ultimate goal of Education North, as it is for the formal education enterprise taken as a whole, is to improve the quality of the school experiences of children and young people. What makes Education North unique is the particular "plan or stratagem" which it employs to achieve this goal.

During the planning phase leading to the development of Education North the most fundamental question addressed by the planners had to do with choice of strategy. At that stage, there would have been a fairly wide range of possibilities. For example, the planners could have argued that the best way to improve education in the small, somewhat isolated communities of northern Alberta would be through the economic development of these communities. Had their thinking taken this starting point, the emphasis in Education North might have been on job creation activities, with the argument being that students would take a greater interest in their schooling if they could see a direct payoff in the form of paid employment in their community at the end of their school days.

Another starting point in devising a strategy might have been to pinpoint teacher turnover and inadequate teaching skills as the basic problem in northern Alberta education. Had the Education North planners adopted this starting point, they might have designed a teacher corps strategy which would marshal the energies, enthusiasm, and special skills of an elite corps of specially selected, trained, and remunerated teachers to man the northern schools. This possibility also was passed over.

Only two strategies were seriously considered by the planners of Education North. One of these was a curriculum development strategy, managed by school systems, aimed at schools. However, the strategy which finally was selected was a citizen involvement strategy focusing on the improvement of school-community relations.

The underlying rationale of Education North can be represented as follows:


activities of a group of citizens working through a local education society
stronger school community relations, greater parental interest and support, etc.
better school achievement, better retention etc.

The key mechanism for achieving citizen involvement in the Education North project is an organizational innovation known as the local education society. The society is developed as an entity independent of the local school authority, but enjoying the active involvement and support of the schools and school

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boards.

The local education society is funded by government on the basis of a program developed by the local society. Once the proposal is approved, the local society has autonomy for local decision-making within the terms of the approved proposal.

The local societies are supported and monitored by a provincial project office which also is located in a northern community.

Policy development and review for the project is accomplished by a Minister's Advisory Committee.

IMPLEMENTING THE STRATEGY

To be eligible to participate in the Education North project a community had to be located in the area served by the Northern Alberta Development Council - roughly the northern half of Alberta. Other criteria concerning the remoteness of the community, its ethnic composition and its socio-economic base were also included. In addition, to be eligible for involvement a community needed an operating school and the support of the school system. Another early decision made by Education North authorities was that four of the major school jurisdictions in the area should each have at least one project.

All eligible communities were informed of the project by Education North staff and the co-operating school systems late in

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1978. Interested communities were urged to establish planning committees, develop statements of intent and initiate the process of developing proposals and registering as societies. The proposals were to be developed in accordance with a complex set of guidelines established by the Minister's Advisory Committee for Education North. Each community which received approval in principle for its proposal was urged to complete registration as a society and then elect an executive. (The locations of the communities accepted for inclusion in the Education North project are shown in Figure 1.)

Stages of Implementation

This first stage of implementing the strategy -- the initiation stage -- required approximately one year of effort on the part of the original societies -- Fort Vermilion, Lac La Biche, Little Red River, and Slave Lake -- and was marked by confusion and frustration. Difficulties included problems in interpreting and meeting the criteria for proposal development, the complexities involved in registering as a society and problems in financing "start-up" costs. The last three societies funded by Education North--Atikameg, Fort Chipewyan and Wabasca-Desmarais -- learned from the experiences of the first four and moved through the "initiation" stage much more quickly.

The "start-up" stage, which overlapped the "initiation" stage, was also fraught with difficulties for most societies. Problems

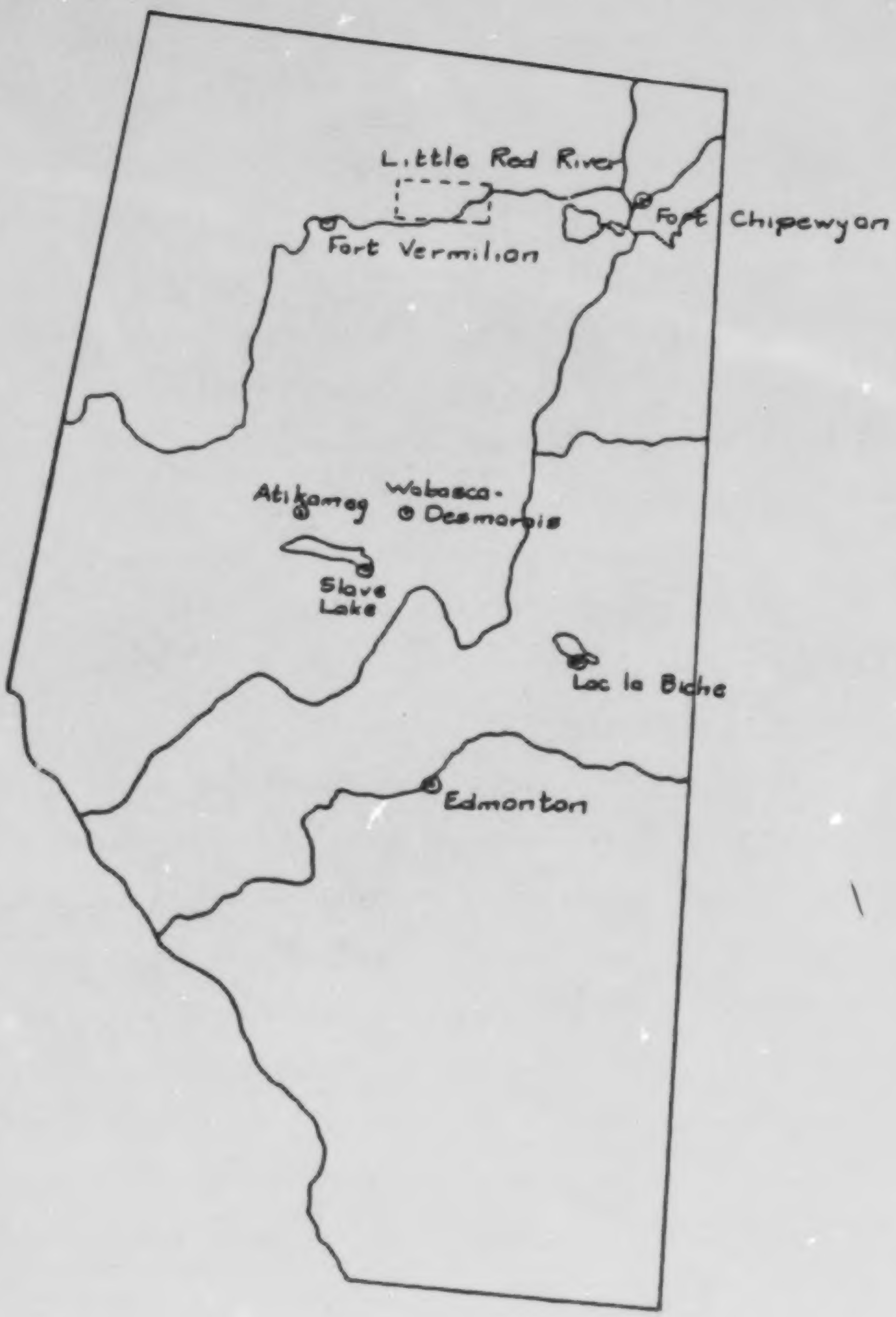

Little Red River
Fort Chipewyan
Fort Vermilion
Atikameg
Wabasca-Desmarais
Slave Lake
Lac la Biche
Edmonton

Figure 1

THE EDUCATION NORTH COMMUNITIES

included the planning of programs, the selection of coordinators who would serve as paid staff officers for societies, recruiting and motivating volunteers, and financial management.

The third stage, which most societies had reached during the second year of operations, involved the operation and maintenance of the society and its programs. Problems of succession, monitoring, evaluation, program modification, and motivation have been typical of this stage. Table 1 contains an elaboration of the stages of development and Figure 2 indicates the stage reached by each society as of July 1, 1980.

During each stage Education North staff — the coordinator and his assistant -- provided information, encouragement, and suggestions. In addition, they monitored and assessed the operations of the societies and served as a link between the societies and Alberta Education.

The Programs of the Local Education Societies

1. Project Focus. The Little Red River Society applied a project focus to its operations. Its activities centred around one specific curriculum development project -- the development of a grade two reading textbook, workbook and supplementary materials for use in the schools of the three communities involved. A "book of legends" for adults is also being prepared as a "spin-off" activity. The reading materials will include myths, legends, life in the past, and stories about hunting and fishing collected

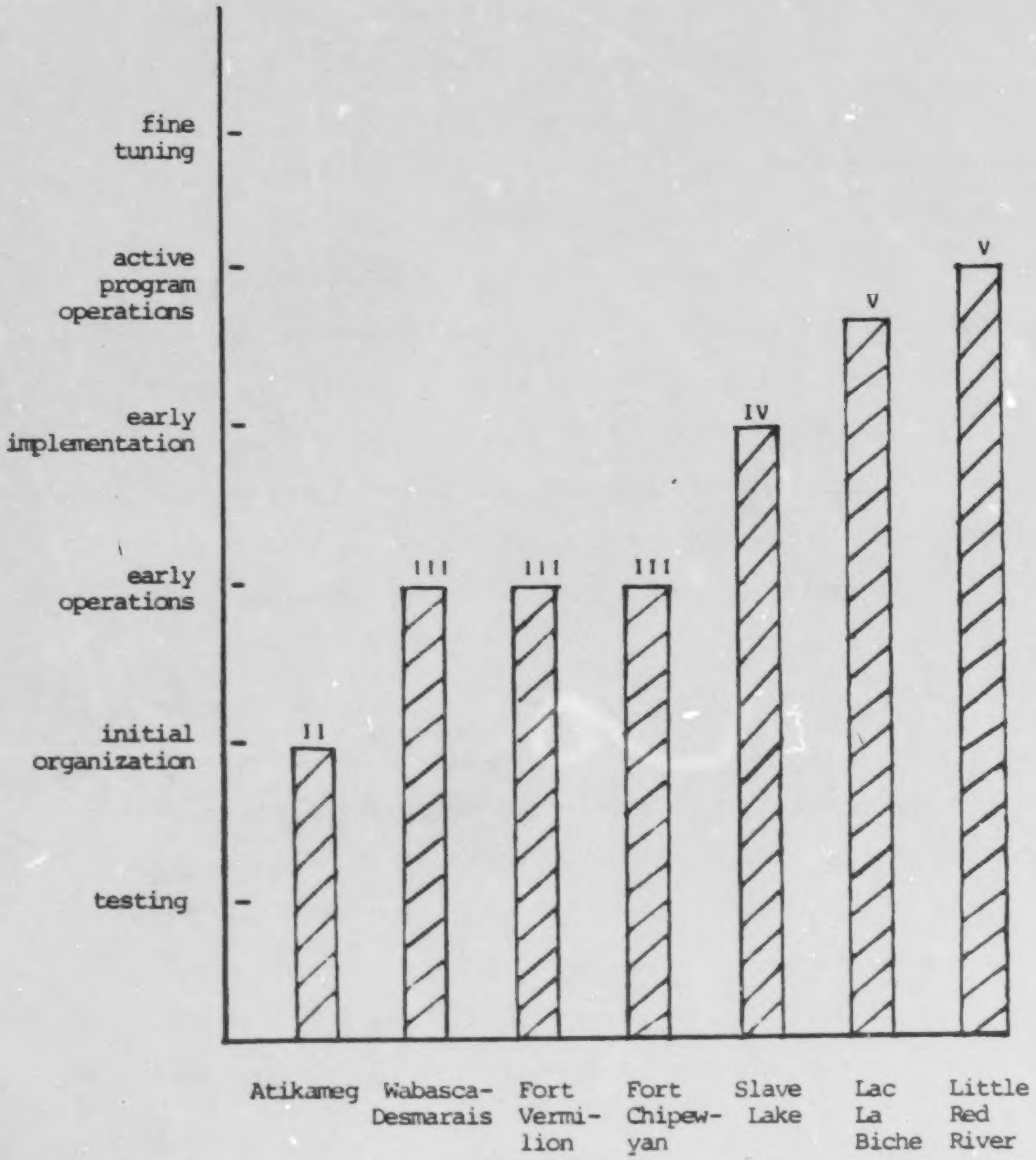
Table I

Stages in the Development of Local Societies

Stage	Description
I. Testing phase	This includes the initial community meeting at which the Education North idea is presented, and may extend a step beyond if a group is established to test further the idea of the EN program.
II. Initial organization	After gaining approval in principle for its program proposal, the community group proceeds to the election of officers, registration as a society, and writing a Schedule A.
III. Early operations	The Board of the society appoints a coordinator, takes steps to establish program priorities, and begins the recruitment of community persons to implement its program. The society experiences its first organizational problems.
IV. Early implementation	At least one program of the society has been implemented. The organizational problems associated with active operations are being addressed and tentative solutions are being found.
V. Active program operations	A number of program activities are under way, not necessarily with the same degree of success. The organization is healthy but major problems such as succession of leadership have yet to be faced. Program assessments, formal or informal, are under way and steps are being initiated to strengthen the less effective program elements.
VI. Fine tuning	Program activities have been evaluated and less effective activities have been upgraded or eliminated. There is general confidence regarding the competence of the society, both internal to the organization and external to it. Organizational problems, including leadership succession, have been handled successfully. The Board begins its search for "new mandates."

Figure 2

Present Status of the Seven Education North Societies



through interviews with community elders.

2. Project Funding Focus. The Lac La Biche society adopted a "project funding approach." In a sense it became an Education North in miniature. Proposals which met criteria established by the Society were invited from each community in the area, six in all. Society monies were divided approximately evenly among these communities. The rationale for this "seed money" approach was to provide local communities with funds to get started on those community involvement activities of greatest interest to each community. Examples of funded community projects include: (a) Native dancing taught by local community members; (b) crafts classes for both students and adults taught by adults in the community; (c) the preparation and presentation of puppet shows to depict the history of the area; and (d) the involvement of parents in teaching the fundamentals of curling and other sports important to the area.

3. Society-Managed Program Focus. The five remaining societies -- Atikameg, Fort Chipewyan, Fort Vermilion, Slave Lake and Wabasca - Desmarais, adopted a society-managed program focus. In other words, they have each organized and conducted, under the auspices of the society itself, various types of projects and activities designed to achieve the objectives of Education North. Examples include: (1) newsletters, (2) Cree language classes, (3) native crafts, (4) development of a "creative playground," (5) parent

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effectiveness training, (6) job/career counselling, and (7) a variety of community history and cultural projects.

V

ISSUES

In review, the Alberta government's Education North project can be understood as the field test of a particular kind of citizen involvement strategy -- the local education society strategy -- which is directed towards ameliorating educational problems in the north, as noted earlier.

The answers to a number of questions are being sought in an evaluation study being carried out in association with the Education North project. At the most basic level, the question is: Will the strategy work at all? Is it possible for local education societies to organize themselves and sustain an ongoing program of self-initiated activities? At the next level, we are asking: What conditions or circumstances seem to be associated with effective local society operations? Finally, and here our data will only be able to hint at answers: considered alongside other strategic alternatives (such as the community school) to what set of problems, in what set of circumstances, does the local education society strategy offer the best possible return on educational development investments?

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We are not yet in a position to answer any of these three questions in a definitive way, although ready or not we must advise the Minister's Advisory Committee for Education North as to future courses of action, based on the data gathered in the evaluation project, in the autumn of 1982. We have however, identified two key issues for which an adequate resolution must be achieved in any citizen involvement strategic alternative.

The two issues are closely inter-related. The first has to do with the locus of power in the relation of school and community; the second, with the dialectics of lay and professional leadership.

The Locus of Power in the Relation of School and Community

In the planning stages at the provincial level for the Education North project, as noted earlier, two different strategies were actively considered:

(i) a curriculum development approach in which schools and school systems would be directly involved in the management of Education North projects; and

(ii) a community involvement approach in which community groups (later referred to as local Education North societies) would manage self-initiated projects with a considerable degree of autonomy from the local school system.

The outcome of this debate in the early planning stages was

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a decision opting for the community involvement approach, but in the process of implementing Education North a residue of misunderstanding had to be overcome. Senior administrators in at least two of the northern school systems (who had been consulted in the early planning of Education North) had the clear impression at the outset that the mandate of Education North was to sponsor school system-managed curriculum development projects for the creation of curriculum materials and support programs which would be more relevant to northern communities.

It was within this context of some uncertainty regarding the mandate of Education North that implementation began. From the beginning, then, there were ambiguities and tensions in the relationship of Education North and the local school systems.

1. Illustrations. Two specific questions can be used to illustrate the issue:

(a) What role is appropriate for a school system in defining the nature of a local project and in managing the development of the project? This question was at the focus of the Minister's Advisory Committee debate over the approval of the Little Red River project in the early autumn of 1979. The question was answered clearly. Although the role of Northland School Division personnel in initiating the basic idea for the Little Red River project was found to be acceptable, the Division office was to have no direct role in managing the project.

(b) To what degree should local projects have a school-focus as opposed to a community-focus? Again we see a wide range of answers as we survey the seven communities. In Kikino, one of the Lac La Biche project centres, the project is completely community-based. In Rich Lake, the project has a very strong school focus. In Fort Vermilion the project seems to have veered sharply to take a strong school focus as well.

It is understandable that school personnel would tend to see Education North as a source of funds for their schools, just as community groups might seek funds for their projects, however unrelated to education, from Education North as well.

We can summarize all of the above examples in a single expression: There is a kind of built-in tug-of-war in Education North between the interests of school, on the one hand, and community, on the other. Whatever the degree of overlap in these interests, and it is considerable, nevertheless there are unresolved tensions that continue to nag at Education North operations in the seven societies.

2. Discussion. The key emerging issue in all of this, as we see it, is how to achieve the necessary autonomy for the small, relatively weak local education societies in relation to the large, well organized, relatively powerful school systems with which they work, while maintaining an equally necessary level of school system support and encouragement for the work of the

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societies.

We see then that the issue is one of balance between autonomy and support. The school systems need to stand just far enough back from the societies to lend them autonomy and independence, yet close enough to lend support.

When we look ahead, we see difficulties in maintaining this balance. Inherent in the situation within which Education North is working is a potential energy in the school systems to lose patience with the balancing act which they are being asked to perform and to assume direct control. Indeed, as local societies develop and implement program activities which directly affect the internal operations of schools, this restrained potential for blocking, assuming control or absorbing these programs is more likely to be released.

The Dialectics of Lay and Professional Leadership

The local education society strategy seeks to stimulate citizen involvement in educational affairs by according voluntarily constituted community groups some degree of power to make decisions and implement programs related to education in the community. The power, limited but real, has two sources: the legitimacy accorded to the local education society by Alberta Education and the local education authorities, and the resources the society is able to command by expenditure of a yearly grant.

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The local education society has some power, yes, but two factors place sharp limitations on the exercise of this power: (i) the fact that the societies exist largely on the sufferance of the local education authority; and (ii) the fragility of the societies as organizations.

The reasons for this fragility are of many kinds, ranging from problems with stimulating volunteer interest and commitment, through the lack of lay experience and skills in providing organizational leadership, to the dialectics of lay and professional leadership. We have chosen to focus on this latter area of concern.

1. Illustration. Two illustrations will again be given:

(a) What problems have emerged in the relation of the board of the local education society and its coordinator? The provincial Education North organization has encouraged societies to establish the position of co-ordinator -- a part-time or full-time employee to give administrative leadership to the society. With one exception, all societies have adopted this practice and have expressed the opinion that the co-ordinator does or should play a key role in the operation of the society. The position and role of the co-ordinator becomes problematic when the characteristics and terms of reference have not been classified and specified before the appointment, when the relationships with the Board have not been worked through and accepted by both parties, when people with inappropriate characteristics and skills are appointed and when a new Board does not understand or accept the arrangements made by the previous Board. There has been considerable turnover in these positions. In only two societies has there been stability.

The major problems centre around the division of responsibilities between the co-ordinator and the Board and the failure to execute clearly specified contracts with adequate job descriptions and conditions of work provisions. Although one task of most co-ordinators is to animate volunteers there are reports of people declining volunteer assignments with comments that the paid person should do the work.

Although difficulties have developed in most societies over the role and responsibilities of the co-ordinator there is general agreement regarding the importance of the position. There is also general agreement that the ideal co-ordinator should (1) be trusted and respected in both school and community, (2) have high level facilitating and organizing skills, (3) be sensitive to problems and concerns of the society and the community, (4) have knowledge and insight into the workings of the school and community, (5) be able to catalyze efforts of volunteers, and (6) be on top of details without emerging as an authority figure.

As is the case with any staff appointment in any setting, compromises and trade-offs are made when societies select their co-ordinators. It is clear that societies have placed very great emphasis on factor (3), sensitivity to the community, in their selections to date, and in some cases this has meant the neglect of the other factors, especially factor (2). Said another way, problems associated with the dialectics of the interaction of lay and professional leadership have been "resolved" by selecting persons who are sensitive to community concerns but have limited leadership skills and knowledge of the educational enterprise.

(b) What is the appropriate role for school system personnel at the leadership level in local Education North societies? Different societies are answering this question in different ways. In the Little Red River and Wabasca-Desmarais societies, members of school staffs are serving as presidents and are prominent on the executive. In Fort Vermilion, the two school principals are serving on the Board but would prefer to be acting ex officio as advisors to the Board. Throughout the seven societies teachers and principals are serving on Education North boards. Indeed, two superintendents and one Divisional board member have accepted board positions with local societies.

There can be no doubt that school personnel are active in the local societies. This is in spite of the fact that in at least two school jurisdictions — Lac La Biche and Slave Lake — teachers who were actively involved at the outset drew back from

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active participation when cautioned by their superintendents that Education North is to be a community led project.

There is considerable uncertainty among school personnel in the seven local projects as to what should be their roles. Although there is widespread recognition, especially in the more remote communities, that teachers have the leadership skills needed in the local societies there is equally widespread reluctance to make use of them. Two reasons are noted:

(i) turnover of school personnel may have a de-stabilizing effect on the local society if the society is heavily dependent on them for leadership.

(ii) involvement of school people as leaders pre-empts opportunities for the exercise of leadership by local people.

In conclusion, two issues must be resolved over the long term if local education societies are to be viable agents of educational change in northern Alberta: (i) finding a necessary balance between society autonomy and independence from school systems, on the one hand, and school system support and encouragement for society ventures, on the other; and (ii) finding suitable means to bring professional leadership to bear on society operations, yet nurturing the leadership potential and initiative of community members.

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Whether these issues can be resolved satisfactorily, we are not sure. What we can say is that the field test is beginning to yield insight into the conditions necessary for satisfactory resolution. By the conclusion of the field test, we hope to have delineated these conditions, and to be in a position to recommend the trial of other strategic alternatives according to the specific conditions to be addressed.

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LEADERSHIP STYLES OF PRINCIPALS AND TEACHERS' JOB SATISFACTION, SATISFACTION WITH SUPERVISION, AND PARTICIPATION IN DECISION MAKING

Robert Knoop

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The purpose of this paper is to report the results of a study designed to investigate the effects of four combinations of perceived leadership behaviour of school principals on two outcome variables, satisfaction with supervision and job satisfaction, and one situational variable, participation in decision making.

The Ohio State leadership studies have isolated two leader-behaviour dimensions, Consideration and Initiating Structure (Stogdill, 1963). Consideration reflects leader behaviour which is supportive or expressive. The scale items used in this research describe a considerate leader as friendly and approachable, willing to explain his or her actions, consulting with the group, and treating group members as equals. Initiating structure reflects the instrumental behaviour of leaders. Items describe the degree to which the leader schedules work, sets performance standards, uses uniform procedures, makes his or her attitude clear to the group, and communicates to group members what is expected of them.

Both concepts are to a degree related and at the same time independent of each other. A leader can have both orientations in varying degrees. For instance, a leader may be considerate to people but be indifferent to task accomplishment either because of negligence or because he or she believes that people perform better when left alone.

There is strong support in the literature for the position that certain criteria in a work situation demand a considerate style of leadership (Vroom, 1976; Fiedler, 1972; House, 1971). Applying these to education, teaching can be viewed as a work situation

- where work is often stressful and frustrating;
- where the nature of the task situation is not always predictable;
- where the principal does not have much greater differential knowledge than the teachers;
- where teachers are used to have a fair amount of autonomy and independence (in the classroom);
- where the nature of the task (teaching) is often intrincically motivating;
- where the work of the average teacher (e.g. teaching a math lesson to Gr. 9 students) is not particularly challenging when compared to a teacher's ability and knowledge;
- where most teachers (the proportion varies from region to region) are not threatened by lay-offs;
- that is, in Fiedler's terms, moderately favorable; i.e., principals have power positions, subordinate relationships, and job structures which are not either all high or all low;
- where principals often need teachers' commitments because they must carry out a decision;
- that calls frequently for innovative roles under non-routine conditions.

Given this type of situation, the literature suggests that the most appropriate style of leadership on the part of the principal would be to maintain a high level of person-concern, a moderate level of task-concern, and to share decision making.

This last aspect, participation in decision making, is thus closely connected to a principal's leadership behaviour that takes into account personal feelings and attitudes of teachers. Schools can be said to provide favourable conditions for involving those being led in the decision-making process. For one, decisions in schools are mainly non-routine since we treat even routine problems (discipline, lates, smoking) as if they were non-routine problems. Few schools learn from each other or from the past. Consequently, the same problems are being discussed and solved again and again. Furthermore, non-standardized information often flows through, or is collected by, teachers. This applies to most student-centered problems which are brought to the attention of the principal by teachers. Some research evidence also suggests that teachers have a need for decisional autonomy and are intrinsically motivated (Knoop, 1977, 1981). In addition one can argue that teachers are generally competent, often have the necessary expertise, see participation as legitimate, and can effect implementation of decisions by accepting or rejecting them.

The preceding arguments provide strong support for the contention that consideration-centered leadership, characterized by participation in decision making, is most effective in education and should therefore lead to more positive outcomes than structure-centered behaviour with limited participation. This does not preclude that under particular circumstances a principal should be task-oriented, for instance, when issues require immediate attention. But generally, as Halpin (1966) points out, consideration, not initiating structure, should be the dominant leadership style in education. Indeed, Larsen, Hunt and Osborne (1976) found that in some studies consideration alone was an adequate predictor of positive outcomes. Other studies have consistently found organizational outcomes to be more often and more strongly related to supervisor consideration (Stogdill, 1974; Schriesheim and Schriesheim, 1980; Downey, et al., 1975; Johns, 1978).

Vroom's (1976) schematic representation of leader behaviour, organizational outcomes and situational variables provides a framework for testing the relationships between the leadership dimensions consideration and initiating structure, the outcome variables job satisfaction and satisfaction with supervision, and the situational variable participation in decision making. Figure 1 also includes a two-dimensional framework for categorizing leader behaviour (Kerr, et al., 1974). A leader may therefore be high in both consideration and initiating structure, be low in both dimensions, or be high in one and low in the other. Participation in decision making is conceived to influence the style of leader behaviour exhibited and at the same time influence the outcomes of that behaviour.

INSERT FIGURE 1 ABOUT HERE

Five specific hypotheses were tested:

(1) A supervisory style perceived by teachers as high on consideration and high on initiating structure will lead to higher outcomes with the dependent variables than any other combination of styles.

(2) A supervisory style characterized by high consideration and low initiation of structure will lead to higher outcomes with the dependent variables than a style characterized by low consideration and high or low initiation of structure.

(3) Consideration will show higher correlations with the dependent variables and the situational variable than initiating structure when the interactive effects of the independent variables are partialled out.

(4) Participation in decision making will be strongly and positively related to consideration but not to initiating structure.

(5) Participation in decision making will be strongly and positively related to both job satisfaction and satisfaction with supervision.

METHODOLOGY

The Sample

A total of 1,812 teachers from both the elementary (N = 838) and the secondary (N = 974) panel (a response rate of 91%) participated in the study. A team of part-time graduate students in education distributed and collected the survey instruments either in their own school or in neighbouring schools. The mean age and overall teaching experience for the sample were 36.1 and 11.7 years, respectively. Slightly more than half the sample were males (53.5%); most were married (75%), some single (20%), and a small percentage divorced (5%).

The Instruments

Leadership Behaviour: As can be seen from Figure 1, leadership is treated as the independent variable in relation to the outcome variables, and as the dependent variable in relation to the situational characteristic. Consideration and initiating structure were measured with the 10-item Form XII of the Leader Behavior Description Questionnaire (see Schriesheim and Kerr, 1974). The 5-point Likert-type scale has a response range from 5 to 25, the lower score indicating higher consideration and initiating structure. Based on a sample of N = 30, the test-retest reliability (2-months interval) was found to be .55 for consideration and .67 for initiating structure.

Job Satisfaction: The two dependent variables, job satisfaction and satisfaction with supervision, were measured with two separate instruments. Hoppock's (1935) job satisfaction scale, revitalized and validated by McNichols, Stahl and Manley (1978) consists of four questions related to various aspects of satisfaction with a person's job. Responses to the questions are summed, resulting in a minimum score of 4 and a maximum score of 28. The scale is composed of the following four questions:

1. Which one of the following shows how much of the time you feel satisfied with your job?

   A. Never.
   B. Seldom.
   C. Occasionally.
   D. About half the time.
   E. A good deal of the time.
   F. Most of the time.
   G. All of the time.

2. Choose one of the following statements which best tells how well you like your job?

   A. I hate it.
   B. I dislike it.
   C. I don't like it.
   D. I am indifferent to it.
   E. I like it.
   F. I am enthusiastic about it.
   G. I love it.

3. Which one of the following best tells how you feel about changing your job?

   A. I would quit this job at once if I could.
   B. I would take almost any other job in which I could earn as much as I am earning now.
   C. I would like to change both my job and my occupation.
   D. I would like to exchange my present job for another one.
   E. I am not eager to change my job, but I would do so if I could get a better job.
   F. I cannot think of any jobs for which I would exchange.
   G. I would not exchange my job for any other.

4. Which one of the following shows how you think you compare with other people?

   A. No one dislikes his job more than I dislike mine.
   B. I dislike my job much more than most people dislike theirs.
   C. I like my job about as well as most people like theirs.
   D. I like my job better than most people like theirs.
   E. I like my job much better than most people like theirs.
   F. No one likes his job better than I like mine.

Satisfaction with Supervision: This variable was measured with a 1-item statement developed by Aiken and Hage (1966):

How satisfied are you with your principal?

/ ________ / ________ / ________ /
1 2 3 4

Not very Satisfied
Very Satisfied

Estimates of test-retest reliability for both instruments were r = .71 for job satisfaction and r = .41 for satisfaction with supervision.

Participation in Decision Making: This variable was measured with the 5-item scale developed by Siegel and Ruh (1973). A 5-point Likert-type response mode resulted in a minimum score of 5 (very little participation) to a maximum score of 25 (very much participation). Test-retest reliability, r = .70.

Analyses

To test for the effects hypothesized, three types of analyses were used: (a) t-tests to show differences between various combinations of leadership behaviour and the dependent variables; (b) partial correlations to prevent the interactive effect between the leadership dimensions, as suggested by House and Dessler (1974); and (c) correlations to show the degree of association between the situational characteristic and both leadership dimensions and outcome variables.

Descriptive data for all variables are given in Table 1. A scattergram is provided in Figure 2 to show the distribution of scores when the leadership dimensions are classified into a two-dimensional framework. The pattern of score distribution shows that just about any combination of leadership behaviour was represented for this sample of principals.

INSERT TABLE 1 AND FIGURE 2 ABOUT HERE

RESULTS

As the findings in Table 2 show, the first hypothesis was supported. Principals who scored high on both LBDQ dimensions had significantly higher mean scores for both job satisfaction ($\bar{x} = 21.87$) and satisfaction with supervision ($\bar{x} = 3.62$) than those who had any other combination. This means that a principal's highly considerate and structuring behaviour generally leads to these positive consequences, as perceived by teachers.

INSERT TABLE 2 ABOUT HERE

The second hypothesis was partially supported. Even though the mean scores of both dependent variables were higher for principals perceived as high in consideration and low in initiating structure than for principals perceived as low in consideration and high or low in initiating structure, only one of these variables, satisfaction with supervision ($\bar{x} = 3.32$), was statistically significant.

Overall, the data in Table 2 strongly support the contention that in education considerate leadership leads to more positive outcomes than leadership emphasising structure. This is especially evident for teachers' satisfaction with a principal's supervision but understandably less pronounced for teachers' job satisfaction since satisfaction with supervision is normally considered only one aspect of job satisfaction (Smith, Kendall and Hulin, 1969).

INSERT TABLE 3 ABOUT HERE

As the data in Table 3 reveal, the Pearson Product-Moment correlations of the dependent variables and the situational variable are stronger for consideration than for initiating structure when the interactive effects ($r = .35$) of these two variables are partialled out. While the correlations for consideration and job satisfaction and satisfaction with supervision were $r = .22$ and $r = .51$, respectively, the correlations for initiating structure and these two variables were much lower at $r = .08$ and $r = .24$. The differences between the two pairs of r's are significant at $p < .05$, two-tailed test (z-test). The fact that even small correlations were significant at $p < .001$ can be attributed to the large sample size.

As expected, participation in decision making was closely associated with consideration ($r = .44$, $p < .001$) but not associated with initiating structure ($r = .01$, n.s.). This relationship, though logical, had not been established in prior research. Finally, as predicted, participation in decision making was also significantly and positively related to job satisfaction ($r = .47$)

and satisfaction with supervision (r = .45). Hypotheses 4 and 5 were therefore fully supported by the findings.

DISCUSSION

The results strongly support the hypothesis that considerate leadership behaviour is desirable in education. Strength in consideration is more closely related to teachers' satisfactions and perceived participation in decision making than strength in initiating structure; that is, principals who are highly considerate have teachers who are also moderately satisfied with their job and highly satisfied with their principal's leadership style and with their input into decision making. The findings thus support (a) the contention, developed earlier, that teaching is a work situation which demands a predominantly considerate leadership style and (b) the majority of previous empirical research (Herman and Hulin, 1972; Brief and Aldag, 1977; Valenzi and Dessler, 1978; Szilagyi and Sims, 1974; Downey, Sheridan and Slocum, 1975).

When a two-by-two categorization of leadership behaviour is employed, which classifies the principal according to high or low consideration and initiating-structure scores, a high-consideration high-initiating-structure style was found to be more closely associated with positive work outcomes than any other combination. This finding is also consistent with other research, as summarized by Kerr, et al. (1974). Furthermore, the findings suggest that a principal who is weak in initiating structure may overcome this weakness through strength in consideration, but that a principal who is weak in consideration can compensate for this weakness to a lesser degree through strength in initiating structure. As the scattergram shows, principals strong in consideration are not necessarily strong in initiating structure; in fact, when the scores are divided into halves based on means, the number of cases in each of the four resulting groups are surprisingly close in magnitude.

Of particular interest is the role of participation in decision making. As hypothesized, this concept is closely linked with consideration but not at all with initiating structure. It is also closely associated with job satisfaction and satisfaction with supervision. One aspect not investigated in this study is the impact of actual and desired participation on the preceding triadic relationship. For cases where less participation is used since teachers are unconcerned with or unaffected by decisions and have less expertise than the principal, and for cases where more participation is used since teachers' support, coordination and knowledge is needed, or since their commitment is necessary because they must carry out a decision (Vroom and Yetton, 1973), the relationship between consideration and participation in decision making and work outcomes may be even more pronounced. In other words, one would expect stronger relationships among these variables if perceived and desired participation were in congruence. On the other hand, if principals involved teachers in decisions they were unconcerned with, one would expect weaker relationships among these variables. Future research may want to address this issue, drawing on the work of Driscoll (1978) and Knoop (1977).

Korman (1966) criticized the Ohio State research because of inadequate conceptualization of situational variables, insignificant correlations between leader behaviour dimensions and outcome variables and lack of causality between the relationships of all variables. The results of this research have, at least in part, alleviated these concerns. Initially the research was guided by Vroom's (1976) conceptualization of situational, leadership and outcome variables. If one superimposes Greene's (1975) supposition that leadership behaviour may cause, and be influenced by, outcomes onto the Vroom framework and treats the situational variables as one, and not as Vroom does as two, groups of variables, a triangular paradigm emerges. This paradigm, given in Figure 3, includes the correlation coefficients given in the tables.

The paradigm suggests that leadership behaviour determines, and is influenced by, organizational outcomes either directly or through situational variables. The situational factors, in turn, have a direct influence on leader behaviour and an indirect influence through job outcomes. For instance, a leadership behaviour perceived as considerate may cause satisfaction with supervision which in turn may encourage the leader to stay considerate or become more considerate. At the same time considerate leader behaviour may lead to more participative decision making which reinforces satisfaction with supervision; or the leader may perceive that satisfaction with supervision is influenced by increased participation in decision making which may cause him or her to be more considerate. The paradigm also suggests that leader behaviour characterized by initiating structure leads to higher satisfactions in some situations and/or for some people. The one situational variable examined, participation in decision making, showed no relationship with initiating structure. Other situational factors not investigated must be at work here. If researchers were to investigate different outcomes and other situational variables, our understanding of leadership behaviour of school principals may be greatly enhanced.

As a final point, the findings have implications for pre-service and in-service training of school administrators. Consideration implies behaviour indicative of trust, openness, respect, warmth, and rapport between leader and followers. Before such behavioral changes can take place, a principal must know how he or she behaves as a leader. Only then can comparisons be made of that principal's leadership style with other styles and with various leadership models. Training should therefore emphasize self-discovery, personal insights instead of factual knowledge. A good way of doing this is to devise a curriculum that is based on experiential learning expanded by extensive use of carefully chosen or constructed cases in which the situational variables are constantly varied. Training should give principals valid feedback on how they behave and perform as leaders under conditions which approximate reality. They should receive such feedback under training conditions before they enter the real world where opportunities for self-reflection and accurate feedback are rare. McCall (1977) sums up this type of leadership training philosophy in one sentence:

> Instead of teaching content, leadership training courses might better focus on creating situations reflecting the daily demands of the leadership role, and, through the use of extensive feedback, allow the trainees to study their performances and their impact. (p. 382, in Hackman, Lawler and Porter, 1977)

Because of accumulating evidence that, in education, the consideration dimension of leadership behaviour is strongly associated with positive outcome variables, it is highly desirable that certificate courses, as well as professional development days, seminars and workshops should increasingly focus on skills which will allow a principal to take into account people's feelings, attitudes and needs.

In times of lack of teacher mobility and increasing fears on the part of teachers of being declared redundant due to declining enrolments, the onus for bringing about positive work outcomes for teachers shifts more and more to the school principal. Effective leader behaviour may well become the single most important criterion in retaining and hiring principals.

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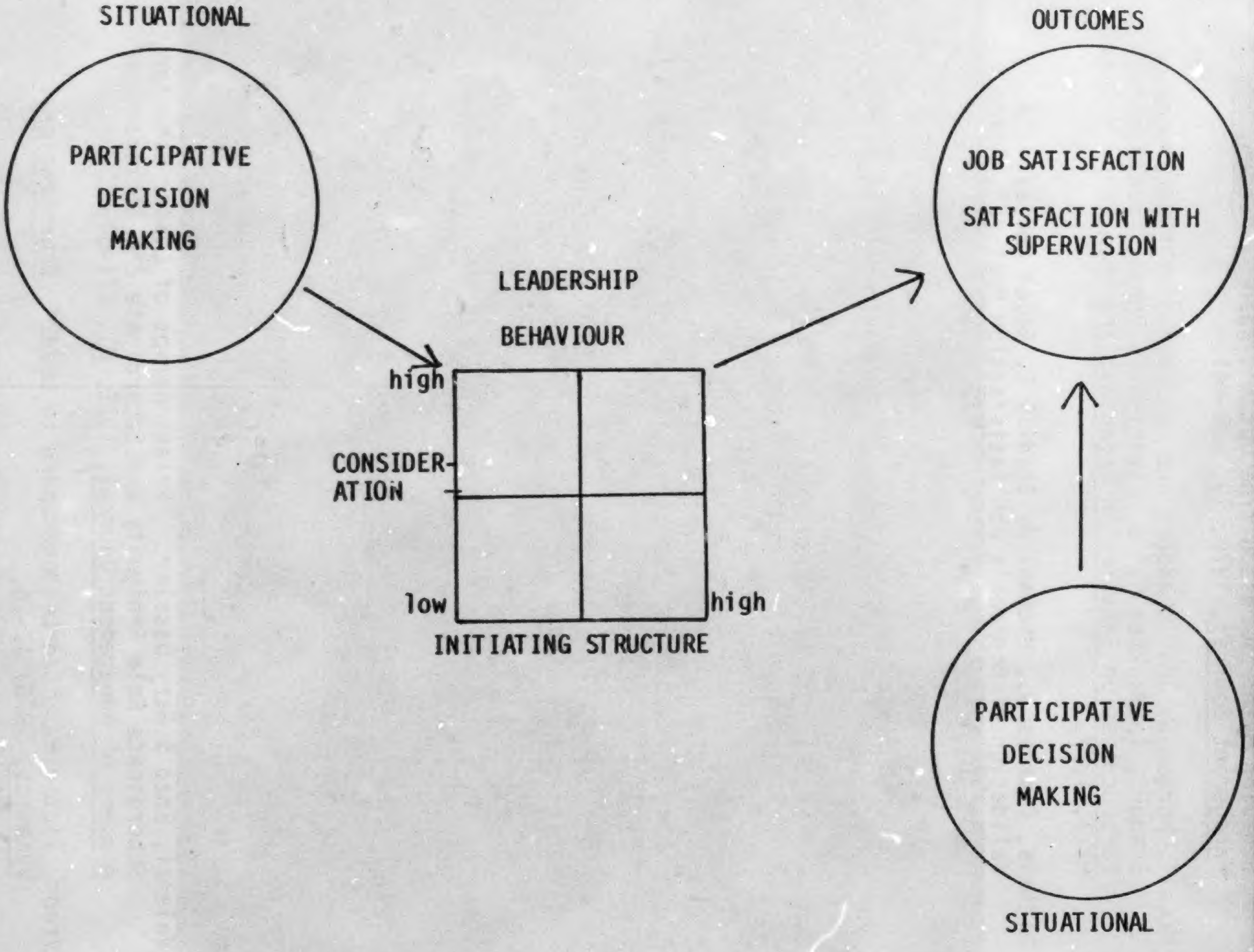
SITUATIONAL
PARTICIPATIVE DECISION MAKING
LEADERSHIP BEHAVIOUR
high
CONSIDER-ATION
low
high
INITIATING STRUCTURE
OUTCOMES
JOB SATISFACTION
SATISFACTION WITH SUPERVISION
PARTICIPATIVE DECISION MAKING
SITUATIONAL

Figure 1. Research Framework based on Vroom and Kerr.

Figure 2. Scattergram of Two-dimensional Classification of Leadership Behaviour

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SPSS BATCH SYSTEM                                                    03/09/81        PAGE    3

FILE    KNOUP      (CREATION DATE = 03/09/81)
SCATTERGRAM OF     (DOWN) CONSIDER CONSIDERATION              (ACROSS) INITSTR   INITIATING STR
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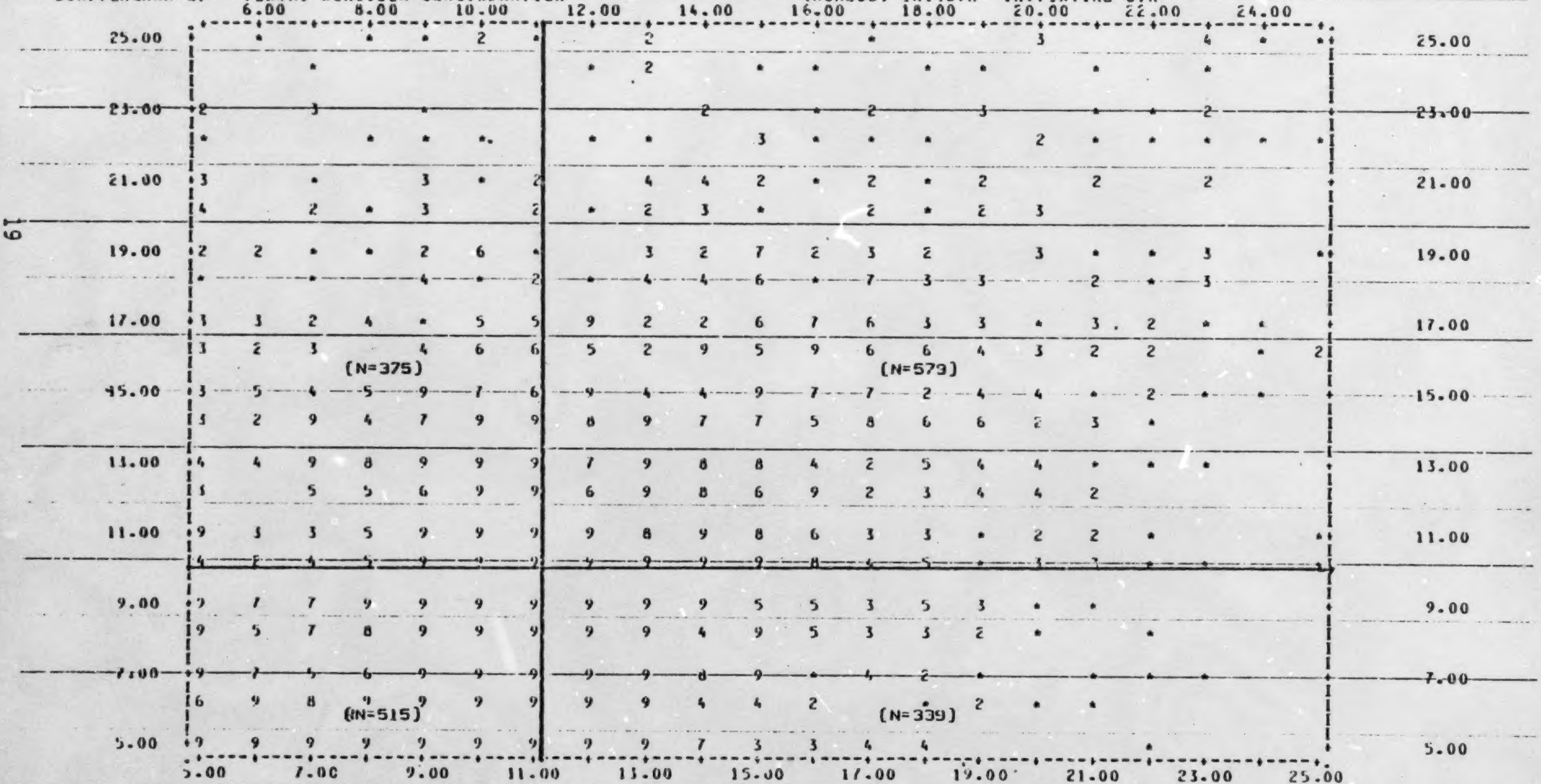
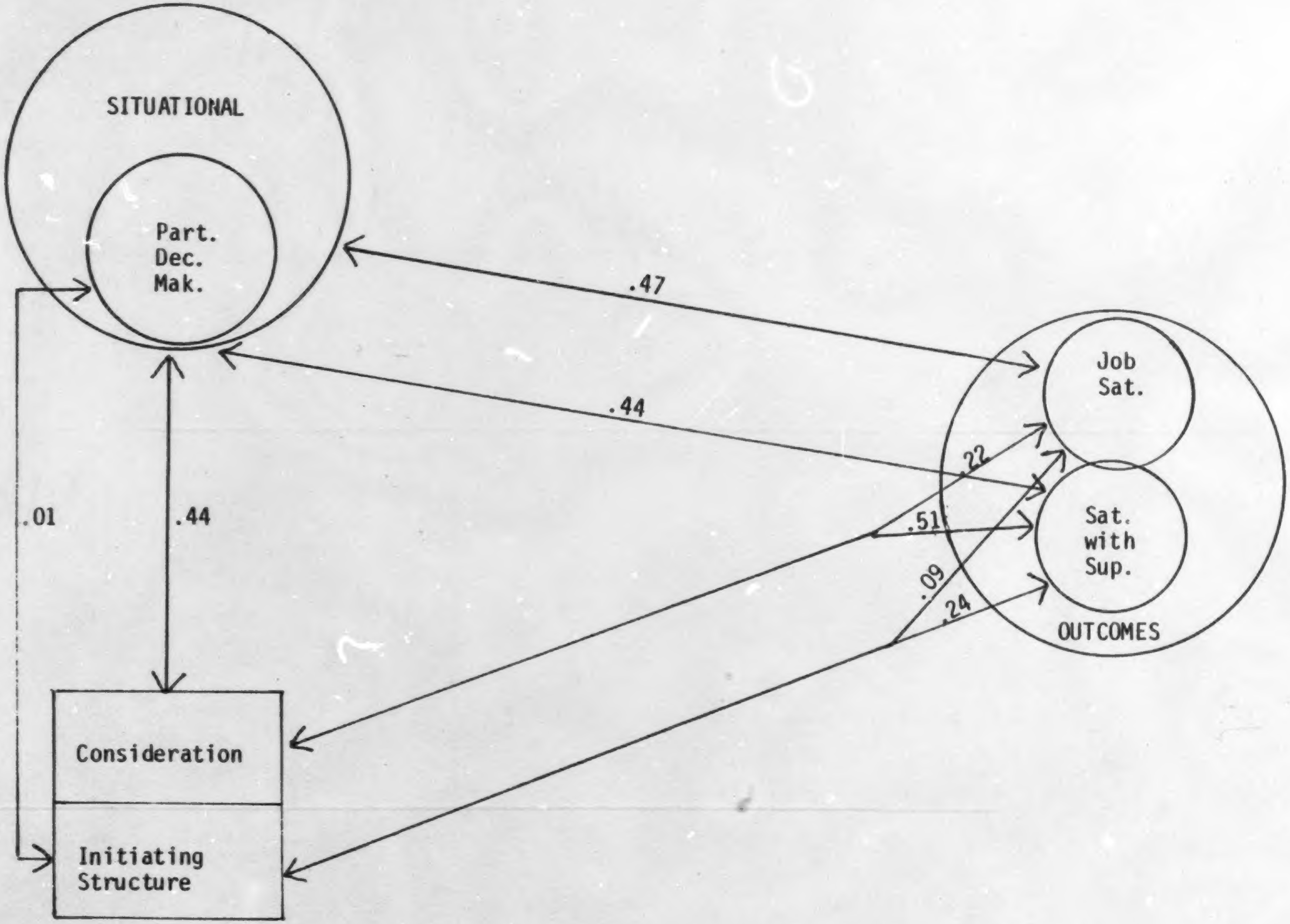


Note: Nine or more cases are represented by the number 9.


SITUATIONAL
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OUTCOMES
.22
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.09
.24
.01
.44
Consideration
Initiating
Structure

Figure 3. Paradigm showing Relationships between Leader Behaviour, Situational and Outcome Variables.

Table 1

Means, Standard Deviations, and Ranges of Variables

Variable	$\bar{x}$	S.D.	Range
Leader Behavior			
Consideration	11.54	4.76	5 - 25
Initiating Structure	12.03	4.38	5 - 25
Participation in Decision Making	18.07	3.82	5 - 25
Job Satisfaction	21.01	3.29	5 - 28
Satisfaction with Supervision	3.05	.96	1 - 4

N = 1,811

Table 2

T-Tests for Combinations of Supervisory Behaviour on the Dependent Variables

Dependent Variable	Supervisory Behaviour	N	$\bar{x}$	S.D.	t
Job Satisfaction	High C & High IS	513	21.87	2.85	
					2.97*
	High C & Low IS	339	21.29	2.73	
					1.25
	Low C & High IS	375	20.98	3.75	
					3.64**
	Low C & Low IS	579	20.11	3.42	
Satisfaction with Supervision	High C & High IS	515	3.62	.58	
					5.91**
	High C & Low IS	338	3.32	.79	
					6.49**
	Low C & High IS	373	2.90	.96	
					6.59**
	Low C & Low IS	574	2.47	.97	

* $p < .01$ C = Consideration

** $p < .001$ IS = Initiating Structure

Table 3

Zero-order and Partial Correlations

Variable	Zero-order	Partial
CONSIDERATION (IV) with		
Participation in Decision Making	.47	.44
Job Satisfaction	.26	.22
Satisfaction with Supervision	.58	.51
INITIATING STRUCTURE (IV) with		
Participation in Decision Making	.18	.01
Job Satisfaction	.18	.09
Satisfaction with Supervision	.39	.24
PARTICIPATION IN DECISION MAKING with		
Job Satisfaction	.47	
Satisfaction with Supervision	.45	

N = 1,811 when $r \geqslant .09$, $p < .001$

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A MODEL OF COLLECTIVE BARGAINING

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A MODEL OF COLLECTIVE BARGAINING

ABSTRACT

The outcome of collective bargaining is not the result of chance or coincidence. It is the result of a process influenced by many factors. Most models of collective bargaining are partial, i.e., they deal only with specific components of the bargaining process. A model is proposed that considers the entire process. It views collective bargaining as an ongoing process with component activities recurring periodically. It identifies seven basic components of collective bargaining: influential variables, perception and evaluation of these variables, the relative bargaining power of the parties concerned, prediction to a party's objectives and strategies, the negotiational process, a mechanism of dispute settlement, and feedback loops.

A MODEL OF COLLECTIVE BARGAINING

Introduction

Boivin (1975a) suggests that the factors which have led to the appearance of collective bargaining in the public sector are the same factors which have led workers in the private sector to form unions and seek participation in the determination of their working conditions and terms of employment. Some of these factors are: wages, hours of work, common standards to which employees are subjected, several layers of supervision, the employer in a management role, performance and results that depend on management policy, and job security. In general, whenever a group of employees is affected by a set of common issues, there is a natural tendency to organize in pursuit of their particular goals and objectives. This natural phenomenon applies to all workers.

Collective bargaining within most educational jurisdictions can best be characterized as new experience. Therefore, it is essential at this early state of the development that those involved in the bargaining process in this sector or in the development of policies that might affect it, make an effort to become better informed. It is posited that a better knowledge of the bargaining process will contribute to better decisions within the educational sector and thus improve the quality of education.

One reason for the difficulty in understanding collective bargaining is the lack of a conceptual model that deals with the entire bargaining process. Most of the literature deals with specific elements (bargaining power, influential variables, conflict resolution, etc.). The advantage of the proposed model[1] is that it provides a theoretical framework for an analytical and complete description of collective bargaining.

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[1] The model is presently being tested through a case-by-case study of all the rounds of negotiations in the public college (CEGEP) sector of Quebec.

A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Bargaining Power

A review of the literature on collective bargaining prepared by Boivin (1975b, pp. 15-38) reveals the commonly accepted view that the outcome of the negotiation process is strongly influenced by the relative power of the parties involved in the bargaining relationship (Dunlop 1970, Mabry 1965, Smythe 1967, Monat 1975). Also, the literature reveals that it has not been possible to reach a consensus on a concept of bargaining power that is common to all bargaining relationships. It has proved just as difficult to test the many definitions of the term bargaining power.

A commonly accepted concept relates bargaining power to the right and the ability to strike and/or lock out. However, if considered by itself, Boivin (1975b, pp. 10-15) suggests that this concept is based on factors which relate power directly to ownership, without considering the economic, cultural, political or legal factors within the environment in which the ownership is exercised. Furthermore, Boivin maintains that in some cases, such as cultural organizations and to a lesser extent schools, it is difficult for the employees to exercise economic pressures on the employer by striking. Thus, as Chamberlain and Kuhn (1965) conclude, the right to strike cannot always be associated with bargaining power. Moreover, there are degrees of effectiveness in the use of such right.

Among the well founded definitions of bargaining power (Dunlop 1948, Mabry 1965, Smythe 1967, Monat 1971) authorities find that Chamberlain provides the most general and applicable definition of bargaining power. Chamberlain's definition is based on the relative costs of agreement and disagreement. Thus, A's bargaining power is defined as the ratio of the cost to B of disagreeing on A's terms to the cost to B of agreeing on A's terms, as assessed by B, i.e.,

$$\text{A's Bargaining Power} = \frac{\text{Cost to B of disagreeing on A's terms as perceived by B}}{\text{Cost to B of agreeing on A's terms as perceived by B}}$$

Similarly, B's bargaining power can also be defined.

The advantage of Chamberlain's definition is that it recognizes the fact that collective bargaining is a dynamic process. The parties may change their relative bargaining power as they use different tactics to influence each other. Also, the relative bargaining power of the parties may change over time because of changes in economic conditions, because of changes in governmental support, and because of shifts in public opinion. In addition, the relative bargaining power of the parties may change depending on the nature of the issues in despute.

Factors which influence the Outcome of Collective Bargaining

Many models have been proposed to determine the bargaining power in a collective bargaining relationship. According to Monat (1975) many of these models tend to be too general and they concern themselves mostly with the conflicting nature of collective bargaining. Nonetheless, a few models have been developed specifically to explain collective bargaining relationships and bargaining power. Four of these models will be briefly discussed.

Dunlop's Model

Dunlop (1970) suggested that the relative bargaining power of the parties involved in a bargaining relationship is influenced by four elements:

1. The strategic technological position of the work group
2. The strategic market position of the work group and the employer
3. Community institutions
4. Ideals and beliefs

The model suggests that the relative bargaining power of the parties will be determined by economic variables such as their strategic position in technology and in the labour and product markets. Strategic technological position creates bargaining power by virtue of the location, position and influence in the production process. If a group is not strategic technologically, it must achieve bargaining power in the market structure.

Once a group has determined its strategic technological market positions (economic bargaining power), the use of this bargaining power will then depend on variables such as favourable community institutions and favourable ideals and beliefs among workers and managers. Consequently, from this model it can be concluded that the relative bargaining power of the parties is influenced by two independent categories of variables: economic variables and psychological-sociological variables.

Smythe's Model

Smythe (1967) proposed a bargaining model which suggests that the relative bargaining power of the parties is influenced by five elements:

1. Critical need
2. Irreplaceability
3. Cost of agreement and disagreement
4. Perception of bargaining power
5. Willingness to use bargaining power

As Dunlop's, Smythe's model based bargaining power on economic variables. Critical need equates with Dunlop's technological factors. However, irreplaceability is not the same as Dunlop's market factors. When Smythe refers to irreplaceability, he is referring only to the labour market. Furthermore, Smythe holds that having bargaining power is not in itself sufficient to be effective in achieving collective bargaining objectives. The parties must perceive their bargaining power and be willing to use it. According to Monat (1975) the inclusion of specific psychological factors, perception and willingness, is the critical distinction between Smythe's model and Dunlop's.

Levinson's Model

Levinson (1966) has developed a general framework, somewhat similar to Dunlop's and Smythe's, for the analysis of the factors that influence the relative bargaining power of the parties and consequently the outcome of negotiations. His conclusions are based on a study of the collective bargaining developments in six Pacific coast industries from 1945 to 1962. He assumed that bargaining power is influenced by the interaction of three independent categories of variables: economic, political, and pure-power forces.

Political Variables:

These variables apply pressure on the union's leadership to match or exceed the wage-fringe improvements negotiated by other unions in order to maintain or extend the strength of the union as an institution. Levinson did not recognize or consider the impact of political variables on the bargaining power of the employer.

Pure-Power Variables:

These variables affect the strength and stability of the bargaining institutions themselves: the union, the individual employer and the employers associations. They affect the union's ability to undertake, and the employer's ability to resist a strike action. Levinson claims that, in the past, this ability has often been "measured" by the number of employees within the bargaining unit. He notes that little attention has been given to other factors such as the cohesiveness of the union movement; support from non-unionized workers and the public; the legal structure; the size, financial resources, and cohesiveness of the employers; and, the degree of diversification of their products.

Craig's Model

Craig (1975) suggests that the goals and power of the parties involved in a bargaining process are influenced by five categories of environmental variables.

Ecological Variables: —

These variables are included within the physical environment in which the parties find themselves and to which they have to adjust. For example, the natural resources of a country or region will have an impact on the kinds of bargaining demands and rewards that can be made.

Economic Variables:

These are the variables which reflect the supply and demand conditions in the product, labour, and money markets. Also, those variables which reflect the capital productivity and the technological innovations.

Political Variables:

These are the variables which reflect the roles played by the government in assuring that the public interest is well protected. They refer mainly to legislative actions which take place during the negotiation process such as back-to-work legislation, injunctions, etc.

Legal Variables:

These variables include the legislation or laws which prescribe or prohibit certain kinds of action. For example, a labour code, a bill of human rights, etc.

Social Variables:

Thes include those variables which reflect the main goals and values of the total social system; and, consequently those of the workers, union leaders, managers, politicians, etc.

SOME MAJOR DIFFERENCES BETWEEN PRIVATE AND PUBLIC ORGANIZATIONS

Labour Force and Wages

A major argument for collective bargaining in the private sector is that it serves as an offset to the employer's power over labour. Many believe that this protective role of the union is not needed in the public sector. Some argue that the employer's power is less prevalent in the public sector or at any rate less likely to be exercised. Many of the skills needed in the public sector (teaching, typing, nursing, etc.) are also demanded by private employers. Thus, the bidding by numerous competitors can be counted on to prevent governments from paying less than the market rate. Furthermore, even if the government has substantial power (legislations, regulations, etc.) over the labour force in the public sector, it might not take full advantage of this power because of political reasons. Workers within the public sector are also voters.

To the extent that these arguments are valid, they suggest that the wage-protective function of unionism as well as its role in limiting the employer's power over labour may be less necessary in the public sector than in the private sector. In practice, however, this is not always the case. In Quebec, wages and participation in the decision-making process have been some of the major concerns of unions during the last fifteen years.

Product Market

Turning to the product market, the wage-increasing power of a union in the private sector is constrained by market forces. There are usually a number of employers competing in the same product market. Unless a union can organize all workers in a given industry, it cannot force wage rates in union plants much above the non-union level. Also, large wage increases in a given industry tend to reduce employment in that industry both by stimulating mechanization and by raising product prices. It seems, therefore, that the wage-employeemnt trade-off does have some influence on union wage demands. The question is whether or not there are similar constraints on union behavior in the public sector.

Several points are relevant. First, the government or the public employer is almost a monopolistic seller of public services. A citizen who finds the price for these services too high cannot refuse to pay taxes. Second, the demand for public services is more inelastic than the demand for most private goods and services. Therefore, it seems that the demand for labour in the public sector is more inelastic than in the private sector. Consequently, wages can be pushed up without a considerable decrease of the personnel required.

Method of Financing

The methods of financing employee compensation is characteristically different between the two sectors. Employers in the private sector sell their product and services at a price and in most cases can respond to wage increases by price increases. Most public organizations, however, are financed mainly from tax revenues. Although there are a variety of constraints on tax increases (public resistance, political factors, etc.), the constraints are different and, as mentioned above, possibly weaker than those operating to restrain price increases by private employers. This is mainly due to the monopolistic nature of public services.

Purpose

Another difference between private and public organizations is the purpose or 'raison d'être' of the organization. Private organizations are mostly concerned with a product while public organizations are mostly concerned with a service. As Blau and Scott (1969) point out, the difference between these two types o organizations is that the latter are confronted with problems of establishing social relations with the 'objects' of their end endeavors and of having to motivate them in various ways.

In private organizations the prime beneficiaries are owners and shareholders. The organization is established for the purpose of realizing a profit. It will be closed if it operates for very long showing a loss. In contrast to this situation, public organizations provide services to the public. The input and output are not easily quantifiable interms of a profit or loss. Their prime beneficiary being the public, the government or a city is not expected to close a school board or a hospital because it fails to show a 'profit'. Most public organizations continue to operate in the interest of the public even at a financial loss. Hence, we can conclude that the involvement and interest of the public is much greater in public organizations than in private ones.

Vulnerability

Public organizations tend to be much more vulnerable than private organizations (Miles, 1969). They are continuously subject to control, criticising and a wide variety of 'legitimate' demands from the surrounding environment. As Miles points out, any public organization tends to generate this type of relationship with systems and persons outside its boundary. A people-processing organization such as a school or hospital deals with a special property - people - who recount subjectively and more or less accurately how they are treated by these organizations. Thus, in public organizations almost any role occupant - board member, nurse or teacher can be criticized by parents or citizens at large. Hence, to its members the organization seems quite vulnerable to public opinion. This not only affects the relationship between the organizations and its environment but also the interplay of the different groups or conditions within the organization.

The Government's Role in the Bargaining Process

Another major difference is the fact that in public organizations the government may be directly present in the bargaining process (Hildebrand, 1967). When this is the case the employer plays a dual role at the same time - that of an employer and that of a legislator. Contrary to the private sector where the employer does not have the power to legislate, the government-employer in the public sector can influence or terminate the bargaining process through legislation. Perhaps even more fundamental, is the fact that the government-employer is severeign. As Fleming (1967) points out, deeply ingrained in our system of law and order is the notion that the sovereign is immune from some of the rules that govern private relations.

Another important difference between the two sectors is the role that the public plays in the bargaining process. In the public sector the public is more involved as a third party to the bargaining process. The natural tendency for the public to safeguard its interest is much stronger. Consequently, as Hildebrand (1967) suggests, we can conclude that public opinion has a greater impact on the bargaining process in the public sector than in the private one.

TOWARD A MODEL OF COLLECTIVE BARGAINING

A survey of the literature in collective bargaining unmasks a disturbing feature - little clarity exists on the role, components and requirements of a model of collective bargaining. Models formulated to explain collective bargaining are actually models that explain the negotiational process. However, negotiation is only one of the components of collective bargaining (Ahmeed, 1970). Other integral components are the impact of influential variables, mechanism of dispute settlement, bargaining power, etc. A model which explains only some components is at best partial or inadequate. Consequently, the proposed model is concerned with a complete and integral description of collective bargaining.

The proposed model is based on the assumption that models of collective bargaining in the private sector are applicable to the public sector, hence, the educational sector. However, the differences between private and public organizations suggest that collective bargaining in the public sector is different from that in the private sector and will require some different solutions or approaches. Unfortunately, the research on collective bargaining in the public sector has been concerned mostly with the right to strike. As Fleming (1967, p. 13) points out,

> It is unfortunate, in a sense, that the strike issue has received so much attention, because in the long run it may well be much less important than questions of exclusive representation, appropriate subjects of bargaining, and the structural problems of bargaining which face both sides.

Definition of Collective Bargaining

In labour relations there is a fair amount of vagueness with concepts such as collective bargaining. Chamberlain (1951, p. 444) defines collective bargaining as "a process of group decision-making." The Report of the Task Force on Labour Relations defines it as "a process by which groups of organized workers and those desiring their services seek to resolve their differences through reason, the threat of economic conflict or actual conflict" (Jain, 1975, p. 122). Levinson (1966, p. 18) defines it as "the interaction of several independent variables, classified broadly as reflecting the economic, political, and pure-power forces in the environment within which the parties are negotiating." Crispo (1978, p. 8-9) defines it as "a joint endeavour on the part of the workers to bring their combined pressure to bear on their employers in order to persuade them to better their wages, fringe benefits, and other conditions of employment." Hameed (1970, p. 538) defines it as "a rule-making process, on a private and voluntary basis,... a process of conflict resolution and mechanism of decision-making: an instrument of social justice."

Although the above definitions provide an insight into the nature and purpose of collective bargaining, except for Levinson's definition, they restrict the activities of collective bargaining to those between the employer and its employees. Little concern is expressed for environmental activities. Also, most definitions neglect to clarify whether or not collective bargaining deals also with non-unionized employees. To clarify these points, collective bargaining is defined as

> An ongoing process of a system of activities which influence the working relationship between on organized group of employees and their employer. The system of activities includes those operating between the two parties and those operating within the environment in which the employer-employee relationship is exercised. It is a continuous process in which specific activities (negotiation of a collective agreement, evaluation of bargaining power, legislation, etc.) reoccur periodically.

This definition not only integrates the above definitions, it also enlarges the scope of collective bargaining to include not only the activities between the employer and its employees, but also the social, economic, political and legislative activities operating within the environment. Also, it clarifies that collective bargaining is concerned with a group of organized or unionized employees.

Proposed Model of Collective Bargaining

A model of collective bargaining cannot be prescriptive nor mathematical. Collective bargaining is influenced considerably by human behavior. As such it is not predictable nor quantifiable. It should be viewed as an ongoing process much like economic, political, and other social processes. The parties involved in collective bargaining may find themselves unnecessarily frustrated if they view the process too determinatively. Consequently, a model of collective bargaining is defined as

> a functional and operational description of the system of activities which influence the collective bargaining relationship between a group of organized employees and their employer.

In this model, collective bargaining is described by seven component activities and by the relationships among them. The seven components are: (1) influential variables, (2) perception and evaluation of the influential variables, (3) bargaining power, (4) prediction, (5) the negotiation process, (6) dispute settlement, and (7) feedback loops. The relationships among these components are illustrated in Fig. 1.

SCHEMATIC DIAGRAM OF PROPOSED MODEL OF COLLECTIVE BARGAINING

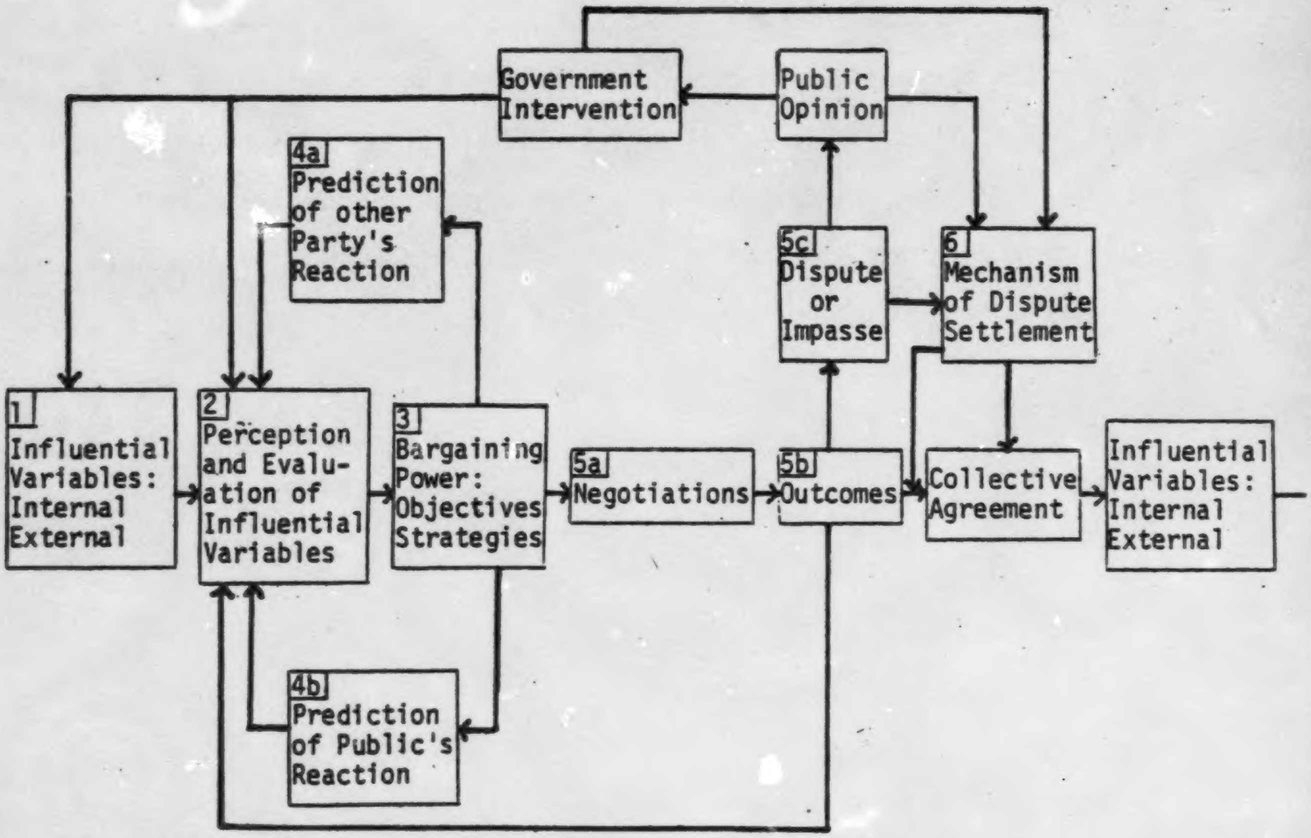
Government Intervention
Public Opinion
4a Prediction of other Party's Reaction
5c Dispute or Impasse
6 Mechanism of Dispute Settlement
1 Influential Variables: Internal External
2 Perception and Evaluation of Influential Variables
3 Bargaining Power: Objectives Strategies
5a Negotiations
5b Outcomes
Collective Agreement
Influential Variables: Internal External
4b Prediction of Public's Reaction

Fig. 1

Components of the Model

1. Influential Variables

Bargaining models in the private sector place considerable importance on economic variables. However, in the educational sector the variables which influence the relative bargaining power of the parties, and hence the outcome of the bargaining process, are not only economic, but also social, political and legislative. Consequently, it is assumed that the bargaining objectives, strategies, and the relative bargaining power of the parties are influenced by a variety of variables.

In this model a distinction if made between external and internal variables.[2] The former encompasses the variables outside the bargaining relationship, i.e., those variables (such as labour law, inflation, etc.) upon which the parties do not have a direct control; the latter encompasses those variables (such as skills of negotiators, cohesiveness of group, etc.) upon which the parties have or have had some kind of control. A list of influential variables is hypothesized for the educational sector. Although this list can differ from one bargaining relationship to another, the set of variables proposed in this model is believed to be present in most bargaining relationships.

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[2] In jurisdictions where the government is directly involved in the bargaining process it is more difficult to differentiate between internal and external variables. In this case legislation, for example, becomes an internal variable.

External Variables

Economic:
1. Wages in other sectors
2. Labour market
3. Inflation
4. Tax structure

Legislative:
5. Labour law (Bargaining structure, etc.)
6. Common law
7. Statutory law
8. Special legislation

Political:
9. Political party in power
10. Lobbying and/or electoral powers
11. Public opinion

Social:
12. Social structure
13. Social goals and values
14. Birth rate

Internal Variables

1. Organizational structure of the parties
2. Organizational goals and ideologies
3. Skills of negotiators
4. Bargaining history
5. Cohesiveness of group
6. Image of the group
7. Attitudes of parties
8. Militancy of membership
9. Politicization of membership
10. Work ethic
11. Experience with previous agreements
12. Pressure to meet comparable bargains in other jurisdictions

These internal and external influential variables play an important role in determining a party's bargaining power, objectives and strategies. Although to different degrees, they affect both the employer and the employees. For example, inflation will affect not only the union's wage demands but also the budget of the employer. The tax structure will affect not only the number of jobs but also several employer's operations (planning, growth, budget, etc.). The internal variables such as bargaining history, cohesiveness of group, experience with previous agreements, etc., are also applicable to both the employer and the union.

2. Perception and Evaluation of Influential Variables

The perception and evaluation of the influential variables will determine the perceived bargaining power of the parties as well as their bargaining objectives and strategies. Although perception is an important psychological factor in collective bargaining, it has not been sufficiently or effectively exploited in bargaining models and theories. Monat (1975) suggests that bargaining power in itself is not sufficient to achieve collective bargaining objectives. The parties must perceive their bargaining power. The attachment until the 1960's of nurses and teachers to anti-collective bargaining attitudes in the face of substandard income and working conditions can be explained partly by their perception of limited bargaining power.

The perception of influential variables may not only undermine the real bargaining power which a party has, it may also result in an overestimation of this power. The frequent violations of back to work legislation in the public sector of Quebec are good examples of overestimation by a government-employer.

Perception is subjective in nature. There is no method or process to establish the exactness of one's perception. Nevertheless, the parties involved in a bargaining relationship should consider it as an element which can influence considerably the outcome of negotiations. A conscious error in the perception of the influential variables will in most cases be detrimental to the achievement of one's bargaining objectives.

The relative importance of the different influential variables will vary with time making it difficult to evaluate and assess them. An accurate evaluation is further complicated because it is based on perceptions. In spite of the difficulties, a reasonably accurate evaluation of the influential variables can help the parties in at least three major ways: (1) the parties can focus on the real issues much quicker, (2) the bargaining objectives and strategies can become more appropriate and realistic, and (3) the parties can identify easier and sooner the changes (attitudes, demands and/or offers, etc.) which have to be made to reach agreement.

3. Bargaining Power

According to Lieberman and Moskow (1966), in order for meaningful negotiations to take place each party must possess a reasonable degree of bargaining power. If A has no bargaining power, it is impossible for A to provide any inducement for B to change its proposals. It would then be necessary for A to accept B's proposal without modification.

Chamberlain's definition of relative bargaining power is based essentially on economic factors. Although one could translate important issues in education (such as consultation and participation) into political costs, it would be extremely difficult to evaluate these costs. It seems then that a definition of relative bargaining power in education cannot be limited only to economic issues. Those who have had some experience in collective bargaining in this sector have undoubtedly had to deal with issues which implied very little financial cost and yet created considerable difficulties in reaching agreement.

Chamberlain's definition also seems to imply that it is possible to calculate the bargaining power of the parties. This seems to pre-suppose a mechanistic or mathematical view of collective bargaining. All the parties have to do is evaluate the costs of agreement and disagreement and revise their bargaining objectives to meet the acceptable costs. In the educational sector, and in the public sector in general, the relative bargaining power of the parties seems to be, more so than in the private sector, a composite of all the influential variables which induce B to accept A's terms. Political, social and legislative variables can influence the terms that A proposes and B's willingness to accept them. Often the non-economic environmental variables may be more important than economic ones.

The definition of bargaining power proposed considers not only economic variables but also social, political and legislative variables. It is general and yet it reflects the activities and issues which influence bargaining power. However, these are often too complex and too varied to be calculated. Nevertheless, at some point it becomes clear to the parties that the advantages of agreement outweigh the overall disadvantages of agreement. Therefore, bargaining power is defined as the capacity of a group to induce satisfaction iwht one's proposals to another group.

Since collective bargaining is a permanent relationship between two parties, the concept of satisfaction is more appropriate than force or imposition. If a positive working relationship is desired, both parties need to find some satisfaction in their working agreement.

By definition power is interactive (Bacharach and Lawlor, 1980). This implies that the actors take each other into account, that one actor tries to influence the other, and that they are operating in a common situation. Consequently, the bargaining power of a group is not absolute; it is relative to that of the other group. Therefore, the relative bargaining power of the parties is defined as follows:

$$\text{Bargaining power of A} = \frac{\text{Satisfaction of B with A's proposals}}{\text{Dissatisfaction of B with A's proposals}}$$

$$\text{Bargaining power of B} = \frac{\text{Satisfaction of A with B's proposals}}{\text{Dissatisfaction of A with B's proposals}}$$

As defined above, bargaining power can be achieved by exercising control over the activity (pressure tactics, bargaining strategy, lobbying, etc.) and influential variables which can influence the other party's satisfaction and/or dissatisfaction with one's terms. For example, a union may gain bargaining power by decreasing its wage demands and thereby decreasing the employer's dissatisfaction with the union's terms. Similarly management can increase its bargaining power by increasing the teachers' satisfaction and/or by decreasing their dissatisfaction with its terms. For example, it can achieve this by making some concessions on consultation, by enlarging their participation in the decision-making process and by increasing its wage offers.

Although according to this definition bargaining power can be achieved by influencing the satisfaction and/or dissatisfaction of the other party. However, if a party achieves its bargaining power mostly by decreasing the dissatisfaction of the other party, a negative and conflicting relationship may result during the term of the collective agreement. The more the bargaining power of the parties is based on satisfaction, the more meaningful will be the relationship between the parties during and after the bargaining process.

Another misconception when evaluating bargaining power is to think that if a factor accounting for dissatisfaction is altered or eliminated, satisfaction will result. Or, failure to maintain a satisfaction condition will result in dissatisfaction (Sergiovanni, 1969). Research with engineers and accountants (Herzberg, Mausner and Snyderman, 1969) suggests that some factors in the work situation are satisfiers when present but not dissatisfiers when absent; other factors are dissatisfiers, but when eliminated do not result in satisfaction. Sergiovanni (1969) studied the factors which affect satisfaction and dissatisfaction of teachers. The research supported the hypothesis that satisfiers and dissatisfiers tend to be mutually exclusive.

The advantage of the above definition when compared with Chamberlain's definition is that economic issues or costs are only part of the variables which influence the bargaining power of the parties. The psychological factors of satisfaction and dissatisfaction are more reflective of all the variables and activities which influence the bargaining process. As such, the problem with Chamberlain's definition of converting 'political costs' into dollar equivalents is eliminated. Another advantage of this definition is that the bargaining strategies, objectives and concessions of the parties are closely related to their degree of satisfaction and dissatisfaction and hence to their bargaining power.

4. Prediction

Another concept which plays an important role in the bargaining process and which has received little attention in the literature is the psychological factor of prediction. In contrast to content (bargaining objectives and strategies), which is based on the perception and evaluation of the influential variables, prediction is concerned with the impact of the bargaining objectives and strategy on external and internal variables. For example, the impact of influential variables such as birth rate, social values and goals, organizational ideologies, public opinion, and unemployment, may cause a teachers' union to demand a student-teacher ratio of 20:1. The chance of achieving this objective can best be evaluated by predicting the reaction of the other party and of the public. As another example, consider the case of a teachers' union that has decided to strike to exert pressure on the employer. The impact of this strategy on variables such as back to work legislation and public opinion can be evaluated best by trying to predict the reaction of the other party and of the public to this strategy. On the management side a school board may, given its evaluation and perception of the influential variables, decide to increase the student-teacher ration from 30:1 to 35:1. The impact of this objective on social values and goals, the tax structure, the public's opinion, the militancy of the union members and the work ethic may also be evaluated by predicting the reaction of the other party and of the public to this bargaining objective.

The importance and impact of the psychological factor of prediction in the bargaining process has been neglected not only in bargaining models but often also in bargaining practices. It is proposed that a systematic and objective prediction of the reaction of the other party and of the public will cause and influence a continuous revision of the perception and evaluation of the influential variables through a feedback process as shown in Fig. 1 (p. 13). It is posited that the better this prediction, the better will be the evaluation of one's bargaining power. This will in turn contribute to more realistic bargaining objectives and to more appropriate bargaining strategies. As a result, it is further posited that the party which engages in this activity has a better chance of achieving its bargaining objectives.

5. Negotiations

Operational Activities

Walton and McKersie (1975) suggest that the negotiation process is comprised of a system of different types of activities, each with its own function, its own internal logics and its own identifiable set of instrumental acts or strategies.

The first type of activity is distributive bargaining. It refers to the activities instrumentaal to the attainment of a party's goals when they are in basic conflict with those of the other party. It is similar to what game theorists refer to as fixed-sum games: one party's gain is a loss to the other. This relationship has also been described (Schelling, 1960; Print, 1968) as pure-power bargaining. Distributive bargaining usually occurs when the parties are faced with scarce resources. Consequently, the relationship is competitive and a conflict of interest results as to how the available resources should be allocated (Herring, 1980).

The second type of activity is integrative bargaining. It refers to the activities instrumental to the attainment of objectives which are not in fundamental conflict with those of the other party and which can, therefore, be integrated to some degree. Integrative potential exists when the nature of a problem permits solutions which benefit both parties, or at least the gains of one party do not represent equal sacrifies by the other. This is closely related to what game theorists call the varying-sum game.

The third dype of activity is attitudinal structuring. Distributive and integrative bargaining are concerned primarily with content and with the rights and obligations of the parties. However, as Walton and McKersie (1975) postulate, the negotiations are also influenced by the attitudinal relationship between the parties such friendliness, hostility, trust, respect and the motivational orientation of competitiveness-cooperativeness. Therefore, attitudinal structuring refers to those activities instrumental to the attainment of desired relationship patterns between the parties.

The fourth type of activity is intra-organizational bargaining. The three types of activities discussed thus far relate to the negotiational activities between the union and the employer. However, during the negotiations another type of activity, designed to achieve consensus within the union and the employer group, takes place. Intra-organizational bargaining refers to those activities concerned with a party's decision-making process. On the union side, coalitions, local unions and the membership exert competing influence on the bargaining objectives and strategies. Similarly, on the employer side top management and various staff groups will complete to influence the bargaining process.

Objectives and Strategies of Negotiation

The strategies employed by the parties are integral parts of the negotiations. Bargaining objectives are not independent of the strategies used to achieve them. However, unrealistic objectives are unlikely to be achieved no matter what strategy is used. A realistic objective is one that is based on consideration of (1) what the party needs as a minimum, (2) what bargaining power it possesses to achieve more, and (3) what the opponent _is_ able to concede (Mabry, 1966).

A strategy that will enable a party to achieve with greatest certainty its bargaining objectives will be built on a valid assessment of the objectives of the other party, together with an objective evaluation of the influential variables. Furthermore, a proper strategy is one that can be implemented controlled and re-evaluated throughout the negotiations. Fundamental to a successful strategy is the selection of appropriate means of implementation. Not only the means must be appropriate to the strategy and the objective desired, they must also be appropriate for the occasion.

Most strategies are adapted to meet expected environmental conditions to the best of one's advantage. For this reason no two strategies are exactly alike. Nevertheless, some approaches are common to most strategies. Three of these will be discussed: publicity, commitment and influence of perceptions.

Bargaining 'through the press' is a strategy used especially when the industry or organization is sensitive to public opinion. News releases are often employed to win the support of the public. Advertisements are used to convince the public of the reasonableness of one's position and of the unreasonableness of that of the opponent. It is presumed that the public will react and exert pressure on the opponent.

A variation of the publicity approach is a strategy designed to increase the likelihood of the intervention of a third party or of the government. Many employers are opposed to these interventions. They view them as infringement upon ther managerial rights. Consequently, the potential intervention of a third party makes some employers more conciliatory. Many unions, especially in the public sector, incorporate within their strategy a demand for the intervention of the government. Through this type of intervention, some unions have been able to obtain concessions that otherwise would have been more difficult to secure.

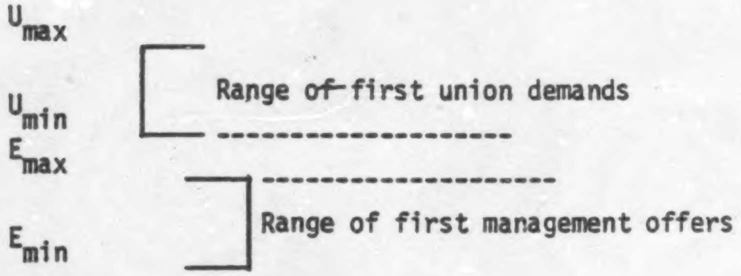
Commitments play an important role in the negotiations. A commitment is the communication of one's incentives and is designed to impress on the other party the automatic consequences of an act (Schelling, 1969). A commitment may or may not imply a threat. For example, an employer may make an early commitment to a final offer with no specific threat. A union may threaten to strike if agreement is not reached by a certain date. Whatever the nature of the commitment, its efficacy will depend on the credulity of the other party and on the threatener's ability to demonstrate an incentive to carry it out. Consequently, if commitments are based on some rational and are effectively used, they will establish bargaining credibility and both parties will benefit. However, if used simply as a tactic, they can maximize the possibility of miscalculation and deadlock.

Since commitment tends to create tension, its likely to precipitate a breakdown in the negotiations. A less conflicting approach involves persuasion to modify the other's perceptions of one's proposals and of the costs that a conflict implies. The advantage of this alternative is that in a long term relationship it is less damaging than the publicity and commitment approach. As Walton and McKensie (1975) point out, the strategies used by the parties may have important consequences for their feelings of satisfaction with the ultimate decision and their adherence to it in spirit and letter.

Dynamics of the Negotiation Process

Phillips (1975) suggests that at the outset of the bargaining process one of two most likely situations will exist.

BARGAINING RANGE AT THE BEGINNING OF NEGOTIATIONS


U_{max}
U_{min}
E_{max}
E_{min}
Range of ~~of~~ first union demands
Range of first management offers

U_{max} - union's maximum demands

U_{min} - union's minimum demands

E_{max} - demployer's maximum offer

E_{min} - Employer's minimum offer

Fig. 2

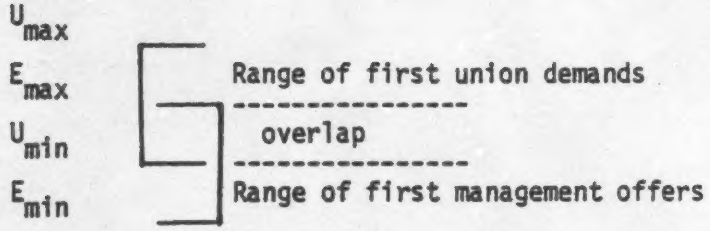

U_{max}
E_{max}
U_{min}
E_{min}
Range of first union demands
overlap
Range of first management offers

Fig. 3

In the first case (see Fig. 2) a gap exists between the union's minimum demands and the employer's maximum offer. In such a case no settlement is possible unless the union lowers its minimum demands or the employer raises its maximum offer or both. The threat of a strike and/or lockout, or, of another mechanism of dispute settlement to which the parties may be subjected, will play the role of inducing the two parties to adjust their respective minimum and maximum positions. If neither party adjusts an impass or dispute will result. The parties may overcome this initial impasse by reviewing their evaluation and perception of the influential variables as well as their bargaining power, objectives and strategy.

When an overlap exists as in the second case (see Fig. 3), the overlap constitutes the bargaining range. The actual settlement will be determined by the relative bargaining power of the parties. Although it does not happen very often, a gap may also exist as a result of the union's maximum demand being lower than the employer's minimum offer. This could happen for example when coordinated union actions and union solidarity attempt to decrease the wage differentials among workers.

During the negotiations the parties are guided by a principle of equal satisfaction, ie., a party's level of satisfaction with the agreement will tend to be comparable to that of the other party. If agreement is reached with one party being considerably more satisfied than the other, a conflicting and antagonistic relationship may result during the term of the agreement. The dynamis of the relationship between satisfaction of the employer and that of the union can be analyzed by the satisfaction-satisfaction model of negotiation presented in Fig. 4.

SATISFACTION-SATISFACTION EQUILIBRIUM
MODEL OF NEGOTIATION

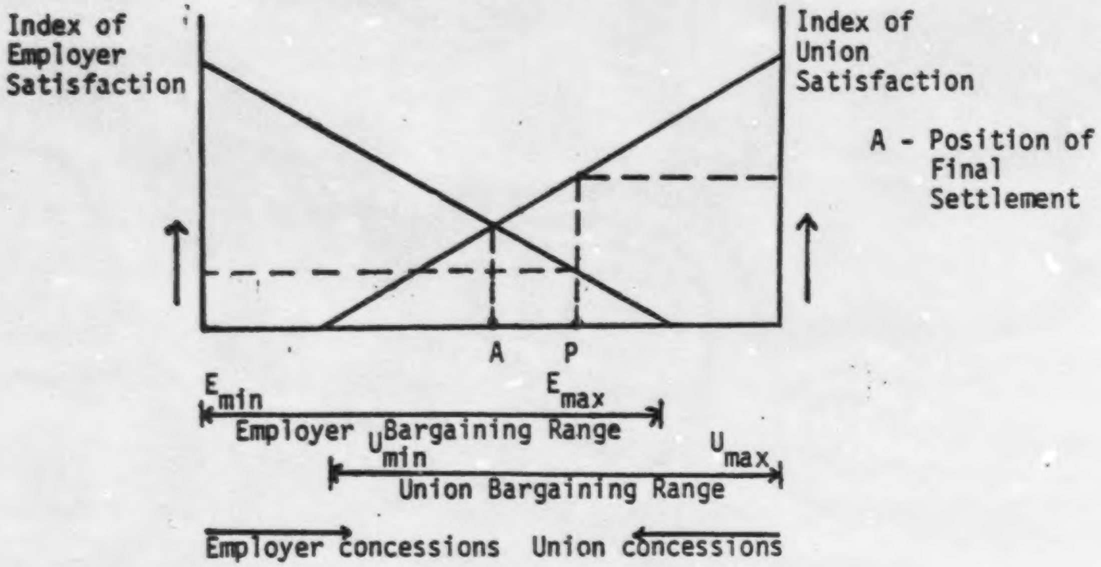

Index of Employer Satisfaction
Index of Union Satisfaction
A - Position of Final Settlement
A
P
E min
E max
Employer Bargaining Range
U min
U max
Union Bargaining Range
Employer concessions
Union concessions

Fig. 4

Although the actual position and slope of the satisfaction-concession lines will vary from one relationship to another, the dynamics of the negotiations is essentially the same. The position and slopes of the lines will depend on the bargaining power, objectives and strategies of the parties and consequently on the perception and evaluation of the influential variables.

The overall objective of the negotiations is to reach a comparable level of satisfaction for both parties. At E_{min} the employer's level of satisfaction is maximum. As the employer makes concessions its level of satisfaction decreases. At E_{max}, where the employer has made all its possible concessions, the level of satisfaction is at its minimum level. Similarly for the union's satisfaction-concession curve. It is unlikely that a final settlement is reached at extreme levels of satisfaction or at some point P (see Fig. 4). At this point the union's level of satisfaction is relatively higher than that of the employer. The strategy of the employer will then attempt to induce the union to make further concessions. When a better satisfaction-satisfaction equilibrium exists as at point A, the chance of reaching agreement is much greater.

The dynamics which induces the parties to change their positions can be understood by describing the concessions of the parties as a function of time. This is illustrated in Fig. 5 and Fig. 6.

EMPLOYER'S RESISTANCE TO CONCESSIONS
AS A FUNCTION OF TIME

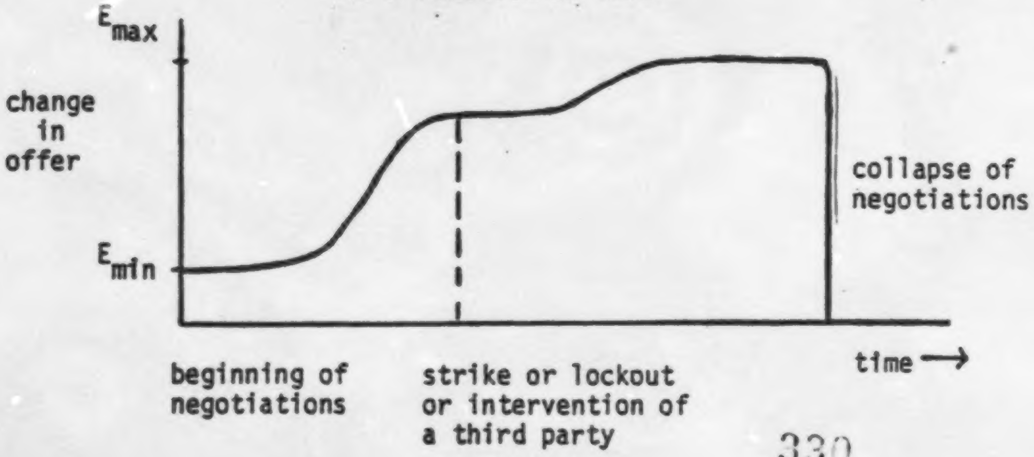


Fig. 5

UNION'S WILLINGNESS TO MAKE CONCESSIONS
AS A FUNCTION OF TIME

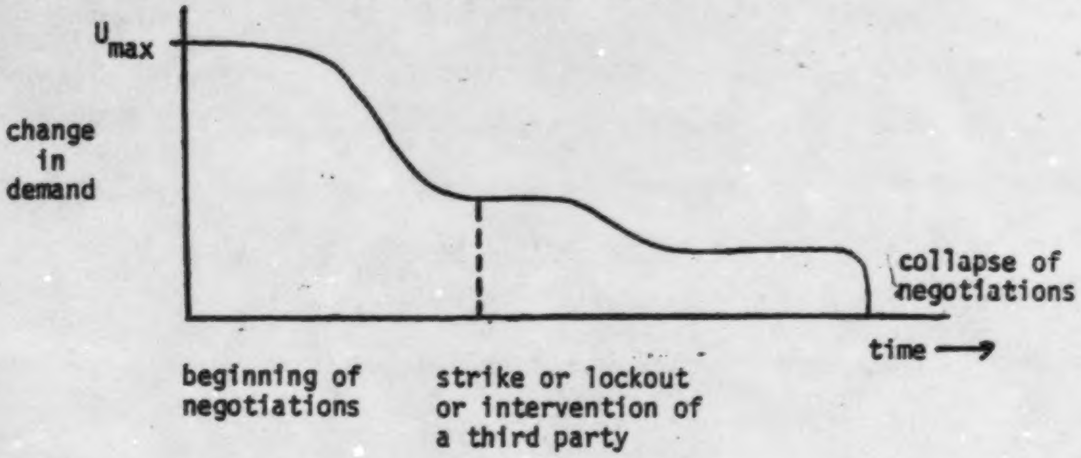


Fig. 6

As the satisfaction-concession lines, the position and slopes of the concession-time curves will depend on the bargaining power, objectives and strategies of the parties. Consequently, they will vary from one bargaining relationship to another. The concession-time curves reflect several assumptions concerning the negotiation process. The curves show that the parties will make most of their concessions just prior to a potential strike or lockout or just prior to the intervention of a third party[3] (conciliation, mediation, etc.). Very few concessions are made at the beginning of the negotiations. Also, it is assumed that a period of intensive re-evaluation follows the beginning of a strike/lockout or the intervention of a third party. During this period the parties will attempt to identify the changes which can favour a settlement or that will result in a favourable position in the recommendations of a third party. After this re-evaluation a period of concessions will follow. If no agreement is reached, either the parties will re-evaluate again their respective positions or the negotiotion process will collapse. Since in the educational sector a permanent shut down of a school board is not likely to occur, the dispute will eventually be settled through the intervention of the government and/or of a third party.

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[3] It should be noted that in most Canadian jurisdictions third party intervention is compulsory before the right to strike or lockout is acquired.

Most negotiation relationships will result in a collective agreement prior to the beginning of a strike/lockout or prior to the intervention of a third party. This can be illustrated with the help of the concession-time curves (Fig. 7).

REPRESENTATION OF A NEGOTIATED AGREEMENT
PRIOR TO A STRIKE/LOCKOUT OR PRIOR TO THE
INTERVENTION OF A THIRD PARTY

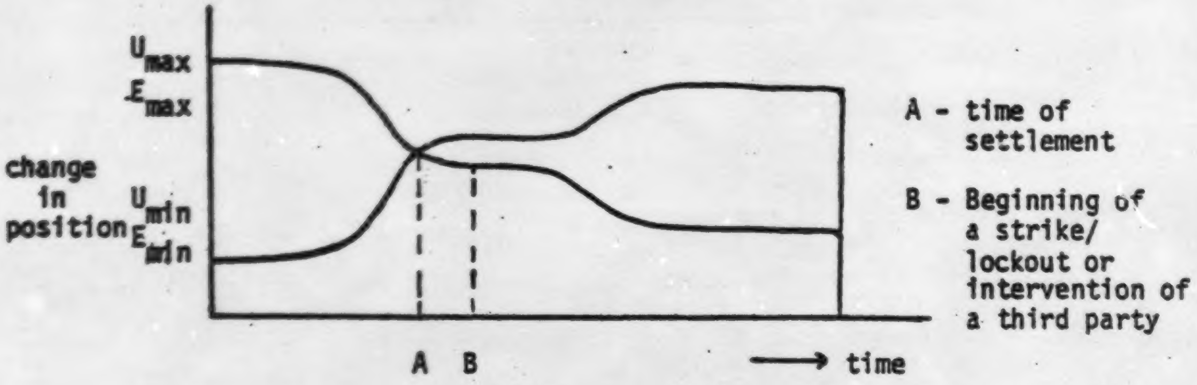

Fig. 7

The case when the negotiation process does not result in a collective agreement prior to a strike/lockout or prior to the intervention of a third party is illustrated in Fig. 8.

REPRESENTATION OF A NEGOTIATED AGREEMENT
AFTER THE BEGINNING OF A STRIKE/LOCKOUT OR THE
INTERVENTION OF A THIRD PARTY

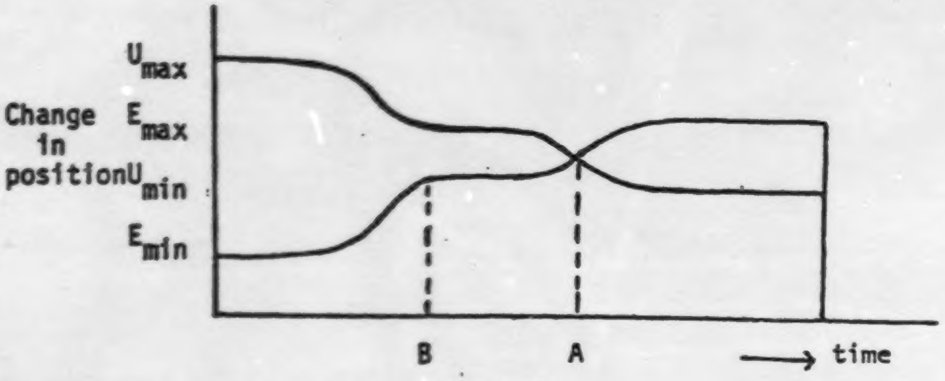

Fig. 8

When no agreement is reached through the negotiation process in spite of a strike/lockout or the intervention of a third party is illustrated in Fig. 9.

REPRESENTATION OF A SITUATION WHEN NO AGREEMENT IS
REACHED THROUGH THE NEGOTIATION PROCESS

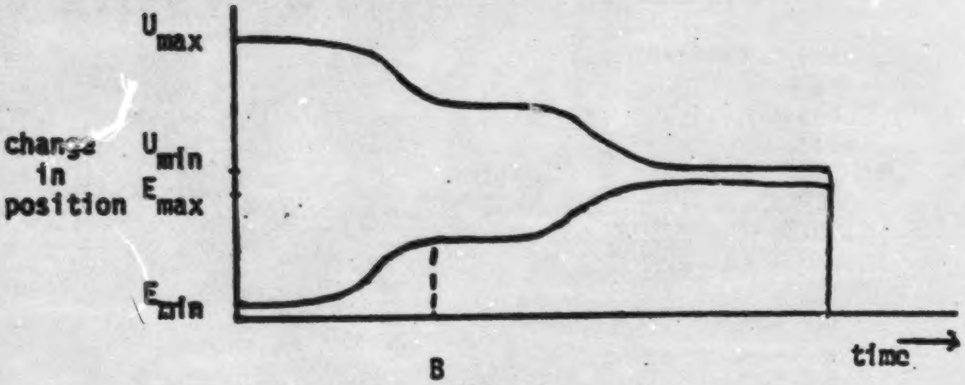

Fig. 9

The superposition of the concession-time curves is useful not only in visualizing the dynamics of the negotiation process but also, as Phillips (1975) suggests, to analyze the effects of third-party intervention either before or after a strike or lockout. By acting as a good-faith intermediary, a third party aims at helping the parties reach agreement. The intervention of a third party can assist the parties in three possible ways: (1) the concession-time curves can be altered to prevent a strike or lockout; (2) the duration of the strike or lockout can be reduced; and (3) special legislation may be prevented. In the first two cases the objective of the intervention is to lower the union concession-time curve and/or raise that of the employer so that they will intersect earlier. In the third case the concession-time curves are modified so that an agreement will be reached.

6. Mechanism of Dispute Settlement

According to Crispo (1978) not only a much greater proportion of strikes is occurring in the public service sector, a growing proportion of illegal strikes is also occurring in this sector. Boivin (1975a) claims that the major cause for this increased strike activity is the lack of appropriate mechanisms of impass resolution.

Most Canadian jurisdictions have limited their mechanisms of dispute settlement to mediation, conciliation, compulsory binding arbitration and the strike or lockout. In most cases the legislation does not permit experimentation with newer mechanisms (such as voluntary arbitration, fact-finding, etc.) Furthermore, it compels the parties to a specific mechanism. The parties are not free to select an alternative.

Conciliation and mediation are very similar processes. Both attempt to resolve labour disputes by compromise or voluntary agreement. In contrast with binding arbitration, the mediator, conciliator or conciliation board does not produce a binding settlement. The parties are free to accept or reject the recommendations.

The most common substitute for the right to strike or lockout in interest disputes is compulsory binding arbitration. According to this method disputes are settled through the intervention of a third party whose decision is final and binding on the parties. Although compulsory binding arbitration does provide a substitute for the right to strike or lockout, it does not necessarily resolve the disputes between the parties. On the contrary, it may create further conflicts during the term of the imposed agreement since both parties may find it unacceptable and unworkable.

Another problem with compulsory binding arbitration is that it may encourage the parties not to engage in food-faith bargaining. If they know that a dispute will be settled through compulsory binding arbitration, the parties may be tempted to withold agreement. This attitude is encouraged by arbitrators who usually tend to take the 'middle of the road approach' and adopt a split of the difference between the parties' positions.

The proposed procedure for settling interest disputes is based on three principles: (1) the parties are free to select their own mechanism of dispute settlement, (2) the union and the employer have the right to strike and lockout respectively, and (3) this right is acquired after the intervention of a third party. The application of these three principles is illustrated in Fig. 10.

PROCEDURE FOR SETTLING
INTEREST DISPUTES

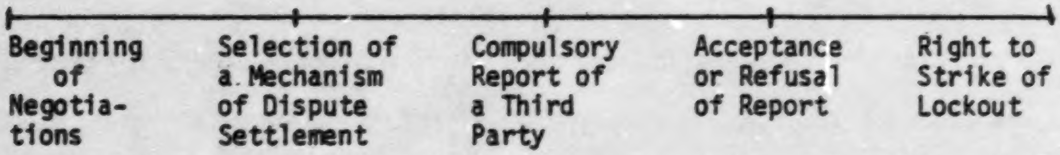
Beginning of Negotiations
Selection of a Mechanism of Dispute Settlement
Compulsory Report of a Third Party
Acceptance or Refusal of Report
Right to Strike of Lockout

Fig. 10

The present mechanisms have failed to prevent a growing number of legal and illegal strikes. This is so probably because they constrain and restrict the parties to specified procedures. The legislation does not allow for different mechanisms to be used in different situations. It is assumed that regardless of the situation, all disputes must be settled through the same mechanism. Not only this does not allow for much flexibility, it does not permit the parties to accomodate each other. If the parties were free to select their own mechanism of dispute settlement, not only fewer strikes and lockouts would result, the outcome of the process would also be more acceptable to them.

Unless the parties choose binding arbitration, the compulsory report of the third party is not final and binding. It serves as a recommended settlement which the parties can accept or reject. The right to strike or lockout is acquired after the rejection of the recommended settlement by one of the parties. A consequence of this approach is that the parties would hesitate less in submitting their disputes to a third party.

The concession-time curves indicate that the parties make most of their concessions just prior to the beginning of a strike or lockout or prior to the intervention of a third party. Making the intervention of a third party compulsory prior to the acquisition of the right to strike and lockout would force the parties to engage in good-faith bargaining throughout the entire process. The compulsory report of a third party would induce the parties to seek a favourable position within the recommendations of the report.

The role of the government in this process would be to assist the parties by being innovative instead of restrictive. First, it would make available to the parties the research and resources available on mechanisms of dispute settlement. Secondly, if the parties could not reach agreement on a mechanism within a certain period of time, the Minister of Labour or a Labour Relation Board would select one for them.

According to the proposed procedure, a calendar of negotiation, i.e., the length of the initial negotiation period, the time allowed for the selection of a mechanism of dispute settlement, the delays of the third party, and how and when the right to strike and lockout is acquired, is decided by the parties prior to the beginning of negotiations. If the parties cannot agree, the Minister of Labour or a Labour Relations Board would establish one for them. Once the calendar and the mechanism of dispute settlement are decided, they can be amended only if both parties agree.

It has been proposed that strikes and lockouts in the educational sector should not be allowed. However, since the economic and political costs of a strike or lockout to both the employer and the employees are in themselves strong incentives for the parties to reach agreement, what happens if these incentives are removed? There are reasons to believe that the number of failures to reach agreements satisfactory to the parties would greatly increase. Furthermore, it should be remembered that the experience in North America indicates that legislation does not automatically prevent or put an end to strikes.

Kennedy (1975) suggests two major reasons why the employer and the union find it more difficult to reach a satisfactory agreement when the possibility of the strike or lockout is removed. First, the parties are not under much pressure to reach agreement. While a compulsory settlement may be less desirable than the contract that could be negotiated, it does not carry a threat to immediate loss of production and wages. Secondly, if a third party has the final authority on what it considers a fair settlement, management and unions may hesitate to make a move towards a settlement. Each party will fear that the other party will hold at its initial position and that the final decision will be a split of the difference. Therefore, the possibility of a strike or lockout is needed both to force serious bargaining and to ensure that disputes will eventually be settled by the parties themselves since the costs of disagreement (economic, political, etc.) will increase with time for both parties.

7. Feedback Loops

The feedback loops represent the linkage between the different components of the model. There are a number of reasons why collective bargaining should be concerned with feedback concepts. Craig (1975) suggests two major contributions of feedback loops to the understanding of collective bargaining. First, it is necessary to look at feedback in order to see what activities feed back and influence previous activities. This implies that the relationship between the components of the bargaining process can be better understood by considering the outputs of an activity as partial or conditional inputs of other activities. For example (see Fig. 1), the outcomes of the negotiations will have a feedback effect on the perception and evaluation of the influential variables. This will influence not only the relative bargaining power of the parties but also their bargaining objectives and strategies.

Secondly, it is essential that we investigate the consequences and impact of the outputs of a given activity. For example, one of the consequences of a dispute in the educational sector is the possibility that the government will intervene in the bargaining process through special legislation. This type of intervention will not only change the relative importance of some influential variables, it may also terminate the negotiation process.

Although it is difficult to establish objective measures of the impact of a given activity, it is nevertheless important to consider its consequences and relationship to other activities. Feedback loops can assist in this task.

CONCLUSION

Models of collective bargaining in the private sector can be adopted for the educational sector since similar forces are involved. However, important differences between the two sectors can be identified. These differences need to be considered when models of collective bargaining are adopted to the educational sector. Furthermore, the continuous and evolving relationship between an employer and its employees is best understood if collective bargaining is viewed as an ongoing process with specific activities (negotiation of a new collective agreement, dispute settlement, etc.) recurring periodically.

The proposed model takes into account some of the major differences between private and public organizations. It identifies variables which influence collective bargaining in the educational sector and it clarifies the role of the government and the public in the bargaining process. The model identifies seven components of collective bargaining. These components represent distinct recurring activities in the relationship between employers and organized employees. Furthermore, it suggests a relationship between the different components which leads to a more integral perspective of collective bargaining.

Finally, the model constitutes a conceptual framework which will help to organize the knowledge about collective bargaining we already possess and, most important, a framework which will enable us to advance from the descriptive to the analytical and explanatory stage in the study of collective bargaining.

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